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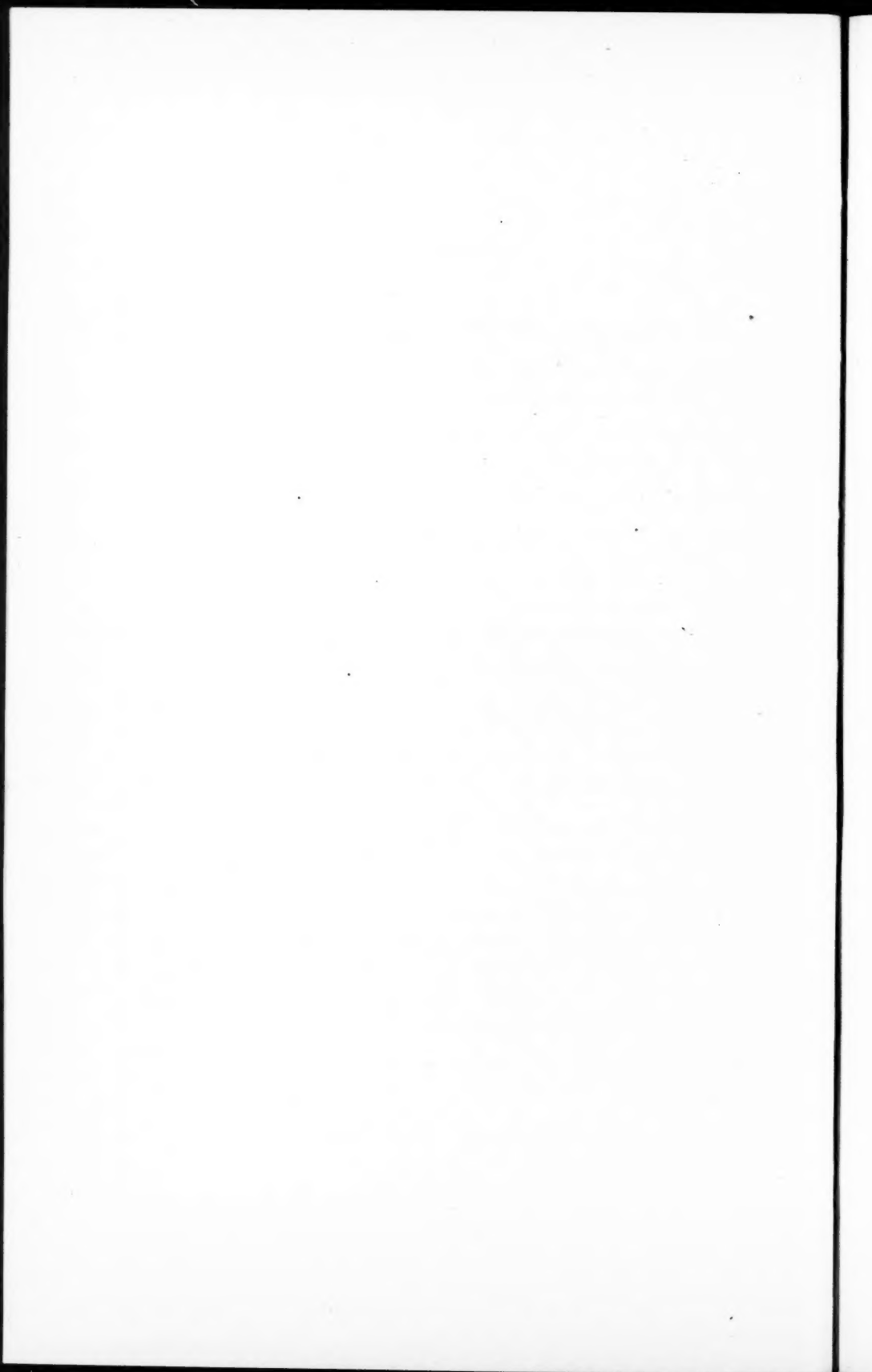
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# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

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1944

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## THE PEACE OF MICHILIMACKINAC

BY CLAYTON W. MCCALL, D.C.M.

(Mr. McCall, of United Empire Loyalist stock, is a customs officer at Vancouver, British Columbia. While serving as a corporal of the Royal Montreal Regiment, C.E.F., in France during the First World War he was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal—the second highest award eligible for an n.c.o. or man of the British army. He has a good private collection of Canadian Indian archaeological and ethnological artifacts, as well as an extensive library on Indian anthropology. As early as 1912 Mr. McCall was made a life member of the Ont. Archaeological Association in recognition of research done by him).

**T**HE Peace of Michilimackinac of 1787, a momentous event that profoundly altered the whole subsequent course of history in western North America, has been practically ignored by historians. Its story has never been told. Though the 'Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society's *Collections*' contains in vols. 11 and 23 copies in full of all important relevant documents, the publication makes no attempt at sequence, comment or analysis. Consequently the import of the episode has not been grasped by writers or the general public.

It is through no special power of perception on my part that I am able to throw light on the subject. In fact, I have no original documents associated with it. However, as my mother is a lineal descendant of John Dease, the principal 'actor' in the 'drama', I was inspired with the determination to learn everything possible about the career of this particular ancestor. But even at that, failure on my part to realize the significance of the Peace would have been inevitable had I not been a student of Indian anthropology.

Owing to the bewildering international shuttling to which Ft. Mackinac has been subjected, it is essential that first of all the reader must know its status in 1787. Built on Mackinac Island by the British in 1780 for the sake of better protection than the nearby old post on the mainland had afforded, it was first garrisoned the following year. By the Treaty of Paris of 1783 the fort was required to be handed over to the United States. But in order to make certain that various clauses of the treaty would be carried out, the British retained possession until 1796. This meant that the huge contiguous area to the west and south (now that portion of Minnesota east of the Mississippi, all of Wisconsin and the northern part of Michigan) continued to be controlled from Ft. Mackinac (or Michilimackinac as the British invariably termed it).

The first link in the chain of circumstances with which we shall now deal was a letter dated at Montreal Apr. 4th, 1786 from the Merchants of Montreal (as they were popularly known at the time, though actually they were the famous North West Company) to Sir John Johnson (superintendent of Indian affairs from 1782). The signatories were eight firms and twenty individual traders, including Simon McTavish.

The merchants complained that their trade carried on under the protection of Ft. Michilimackinac was suffering as the result of a native war. The scope of their activities affected was "nearly three-fifths of the whole of the Upper Country Trade, and is extended over a tract of Country reaching from the Latitude of 39 degrees S. on the Mississippi to the North and West of Hudson's Bay in the Latitude of 60 degrees." To quote further from the memorial, "But lately the disputes of those nations have arose to a height above the power of the Traders, assisted by the officer commanding at Michilimackinac, to control or appease, in consequence whereof the trade has suffered greatly and unless some remedy is applied in time there is reason to fear the loss of a considerable part of that valuable branch of commerce, in particular the whole of that carried on upon the Mississippi from the Illinois to its source."

This letter was followed by a memorandum of Apr. 13th, from two firms and nine individuals of the same company, stating that the nations at war were—to give them the modern standard spelling—the Chippewa, the Ottawa, the Menominee, the Winnebago, the Sauk, the Foxes and the Sioux. It went on, “To bring about a peace amongst those Indians, considerable presents will be necessary, and in order to judge of the necessary quantum, it may be proper to mention the number of men in each Nation with their situation in the Country and the means that may be adopted to effect that purpose.” The estimates in men were then given as below 1000 each for all but the last three nations. Of these the Sauk were credited with the strength of 1300, the Foxes with 1400 and the Sioux with 3000. The plan of the merchants was to give the presents at a grand council at possibly the River St. Pierre (now called the Minnesota River) in the fall. The suggestion was made that, to quote, “It might be proper to retain part of the presents until Spring, particularly Rum, silver-work, some Coats, hats, Flags and Medals.” (The proposal as to the site was rejected by Sir John as too impractical).

A valuable sidelight on the severe handicap under which the merchants suffered is given in the same communication. Referring to the Chippewa country south of Lake Superior and east of the upper reaches of the Mississippi, they stated, “This tract cannot be surpassed or perhaps equalled by any in the Upper Country for the fine furs (*sic*) it produces; but owing to the vicinity of the Scioux (*sic*) and the constant war between these rival nations, the Traders do not procure from it one fourth part of the furs which it is capable of producing annually.” In regard to the Sioux, they pointed out that they were for the most part buffalo-hunters, but that along the St. Pierre and the upper Mississippi about the Falls of St. Anthony they furnished deer, beaver and otter skins. Furthermore they wrote, “. . . that when peace can be brought about between these two fierce and rival nations (the Sioux and the Chippewa), the Menominis, the Picants, the Sakies and the

Foxes (will) go up into that country and make the most prodigious hunts; but whilst they continue at war no Indians nor Trader can shew themselves in that country with safety."

The conflict of which the merchants complained was the great Dakota-Ojibway war of poetic and historic fame, which had been waxing and waning ever since 1650. My own analysis of the line-up in 1786, based on information in the merchants' memorandum, is as follows: On the one side were the Dakota (Siouan) and their allies the Winnebago (Siouan), the Menominee (Algonquin) and the Foxes (Algonquin). On the other were the Ojibway or Chippewa (synonymous appellations with reference in each to 'puckered moccasins') of Algonquin origin, and their allies the Ottawa (an offshoot from the Ojibway) and the Sac or Sauk (an Algonquin nation under strong Spanish influence, and with no direct co-operation with the Ojibway).

Sir John's reaction to the situation is apparent in his letter of Oct. 1st, 1786 from Montreal to his cousin John Dease, appointing the latter to the position of district superintendent at Michilimackinac. A paragraph reads,

"In consequence of an unfortunate war raging among some of the Western Nations, & at the request of the Merchants trading to that Country, I have taken some steps to endeavour to reconcile them to each other by sending a Messenger among them to desire that they would desist from all acts of hostility and assemble some of the Chiefs of each Nation next June at Michilimackinac, where I shall endeavour to meet them and to establish a lasting peace, to facilitate which I intend to take with me or order around by Detroit some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations—But should I from unforeseen accident or business be prevented from putting my intentions into execution, you will take such steps as you will find necessary to accomplish this desirable business; in the interim you will continue to act in conjunction with Lt. Col. Butler for the good of His Majesty's Indian interest."

In explanation of the 'interim' it might be pointed out here that Dease at the time was at the King's Storehouse at Lachine. His instructions from Sir John had been in part, "I do hereby require that you do without loss of time and in the most expeditious manner return to Niagara with the Indian



Goods destined for the several posts, and from thence you are to proceed in the first vessel next Spring, the Season being now too far advanced, to Michilimackinac to take upon you the mangement of Indian affairs in that District."

Here I shall digress to give a brief outline of John Dease's biography. Descended from an ancient Irish family classified as landed gentry, he was a son of Dr. Richard Dease of the townland of Lisney in County Cavan and nephew of Dr. Francis Dease who was created a count of Russia for service as physician to Tsar Peter III. John's mother was Ann, sister of Sir William Johnson of Mohawk fame and niece of Vice Admiral Sir Peter Warren who commanded the victorious British fleet in the first siege of Louisburg (1745). John's brother was the eminent surgeon and author of surgical works—William Dease, the first professor in the Royal Irish College of surgeons at Dublin in 1785 and president of the college in 1789.

John himself was also trained for the surgical profession. A certain H. Babcock, writing in 1775, stated "Mr. (John) Dease, Sir William Johnson's nephew, is a regular bred physician, who besides the advantages of a very genteel and learned education in Ireland, has studied (under) the most able professors in France for five years." On the completion of his studies John emigrated to Albany (1771), whence he made frequent trips to Johnstown in the capacity of official physician to his uncle.

Sir William had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in 1756. At his death in 1774 he was succeeded in the office by a nephew, Col. Guy Johnson. The latter, in accordance with the wish expressed by Sir William prior to his death and with the approval of General Gage, commissioned Dease deputy Indian agent on Apr. 16th, 1775. Dease, abandoning to eventual confiscation some 2000 acres of land inherited from Sir William, fled with the Six Nations from the Mohawk Valley the same year. During the whole of the Revolutionary War (on the British side, of course) he served in a highly colorful

civil and military capacity with the Iroquois in and out of Niagara. He worked in close co-operation with the celebrated chief, Capt. Joseph Brant, even accompanying Brant and the latter's two sons to Detroit and Sandusky in 1783. Often at Niagara he alternated as deputy superintendent with Lieut.-Col. Butler.

While Dease was almost invariably referred to in the Indian Department as plain "Mr.," he was mentioned in Sir William's will as "my esteemed nephew, Doctor John Dease." No less than three applications of his for a captaincy in Butler's Rangers were turned down by Governor Haldimand on the grounds that two Indian agents should not be officers of the same military unit. But Dease finally held the rank of captain at Niagara, though the name of the unit in which he was commissioned cannot now be learned.

From a vessel (name or rig unknown) that had sailed from the head of the Niagara River, the Dease party disembarked at Michilimackinac on June 15th, 1787. The group consisted of John, his wife (*née* Jane French), and their three young sons who had been born at Niagara—Richard William (my mother's gt.-grandfather), John Warren and Francis Michael.

According to the Colonial Office record, Sir John Johnson "had dispatched Mr. Joseph Ainse, Interpreter for the Indian Department, a man of much influence among the Indians and great knowledge of Indian affairs, with a belt and speech inviting them to meet him at Michilimackinac in order to reconcile them to each other. Mr. Ainse, being set out in the month of August following, proceeded to the Scioux (*sic*) Country where the war then actually existed & having penetrated to the extreme end of the River St. Pierre exerted himself so effectually that he returned in the month of June, 1787 to Michilimackinac with six deputies from each nation at war, consisting of their principal Village & War Chiefs in number one hundred and seventy six besides a number of Inferior Indians men women and children."

After several preliminary interviews between the chiefs and Dease—each being a minor council—and much entertaining and regaling of the deputies by both Dease and his wife, the stage was set for the Grand Council itself.

This outstanding event took place on July 11th, 1787, and Dease's report of it reads like a movie script. He starts out by saying, "At 12 o'clock the deputies of the different nations who accompanied Mr. Ainse to the other Indians at this post, met in general Council at a place near the Council-House fixed upon for that purpose; three cannon were fired on taking our seats to which we walked through Indians who sat on either side. The way was covered with Blankets of skins and Scarlet Cloth. On the latter was displayed large belts of Wampum, war Axes, &c." He then mentions as being present, "Capt. Scott, 53rd Regt. Commandant; J. Dease, Esq., Dist. Superintendent; Lieuts. Houghton and Robertson; Ensign Ottley; Traders of the Post, &c." Sir John and the Iroquois deputies were absent owing to the precarious situation in which the aftermath of the Revolutionary War had left the Six Nations.

Instead of taking space to review Dease's lengthy speech—abundant though it is with splendid rhetoric appropriate to the occasion—I shall give instead his own summary of the Indians' reply—each chief having spoken to him in turn. It is:

"'Father, We acknowledge our inability; we want sense; we want words to express to you our thanks for the great trouble you have taken for us. You have made a new day for us: the black clouds are dispersed; a warm sun and blue sky enliven and chear (*sic*) our hearts. You have restored friendship and peace, security and happiness, to us. We shall esteem this day the happiest of our lives. Since our misfortunes vanish, peace and friendship succeed, as Spring does to the dreary Winter. We shall in future study to deserve our father's care and protection. His goodness has rescued us from misery. We shall return to our homes with joyful hearts and proclaim to our people the happy proceedings of this day, and use our best endeavours to make our Nations pay due obedience to the will of our father, whose kindness we shall never forget. We thankfully will receive our father's indulgence (an issue of rum), and take care that our Soldiers shall prevent any abuse of it.'"

The articles of Peace which the chiefs had demanded—even prior to the Grand Council—to be dictated to them were worked out by Dease in four separate sections. To give a short summary, the first points out that the Indians “promise for themselves and nations always to acknowledge, next to the Great Spirit, the Great King of England their Father, and that they will obey the voice of the white servants whom he has been graciously pleased to entrust with the management of their affairs.” The second exhorts them to deal honestly with traders and engages them to give the traders “every friendly assistance their remote situation may require.” The third engages them to hand over any killer or robber of a white man or trader, and assures them “that should a white man injure them they will receive ample satisfaction by a proper application to their Father at Michilimackinac.” The last clause covers the giving of information “should any bad birds hereafter come among them whispering anything that might disturb their tranquility and in any degree interfere with their attachment to their Great Father.”

It will be noticed that no clause refers to the ending of the native war. This is because the signatories are shown in Dease’s introductory paragraph to the Treaty as having already, at the Grand Council, “made in their own manner a lasting peace with each other.” Dease carefully pointed out to the Indians that the articles were “the only means of ensuring your future welfare & procuring you the protection of the Great King your father,” and that “they principally regard your conduct towards the King’s white children who visit or reside among you for the purpose of trade, by which your own wants and those of your families are supplied.” To assure a complete understanding, Dease advised them that Ainsie would “minutely explain what the writing contains.” The pact was ratified on July 12th, the culminating ceremony being marked by the chiefs “advancing and laying their hands on the Seals opposite their names.”

Contemporary world opinion of the transactions appears in the Colonial Office record as follows:

"Mr. Dease, Deputy Superintendent, removed from Niagara to Michilimackinac where he was directed to take the management of Indian affairs, arrived there some time before Mr. Ainse with instructions to use his best endeavours to accomplish Sir John's Designs. He after several councils with the Deputies of the nations at war, did happily conclude a peace with them in the most binding manner, burying their War Hatchets and with them all their animosities, encounting them with the belt of peace, the links of which they firmly promise to preserve from Rust as long as the Rivers flow and the Rocks endure, restoring friendship and that brotherly intercourse to which they had so long been strangers. Having entreated Mr. Dease to dictate the Terms of peace, these contained on the other side were, with the approbation of the Commanding Officer, judged conducive to His Majesty's Service and were ratified in a proper manner at the King's Great Council Fire at Michilimackinac, on the twelfth day of July, 1787 & the twenty-sixth year of the Reign of His Gracious Majesty George the Third &c. &c. &c. This paper to be deposited with the different belts given on an occasion deeply affecting the Interests of humanity as well as those of commerce."

Analysis of the appendage of the Treaty is an extremely difficult task. Owing to the illiteracy of the signatories, the signatures and tribal identities had been written in by Ainse in his capacity of interpreter. As was inevitable, his spelling of the aboriginal names was fantastically phonetic. Under the heading "*Sciou* (*sic*) Nation"—the first to sign—are given the names of six so-called villages with a village and a war chief representing each. Putting the designations of the 'villages' into the correct Siouan versions, I found that they were really tribes, viz.—Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Sisseton, Yankton, Teton and Wahpekute. The Siouan linguistic family is ethnologically grouped into eight divisions, one of which is practically extinct. By far the most important is the Dakota-Assiniboin division consisting of eight tribes. Six of these eight tribes are those of the Treaty. Only the Yanktonai and the Assiniboin are missing. The latter dwelled too far away (in what is now Saskatchewan) to be represented. It may be

that Ainse was unaware of any distinction between the Yankton and the Yanktonai.

The second nation to sign was the Saulteaux (the name by which the Ojibway were known to the French, and used by Ainse through his being of French extraction). In his report of Aug. 16th, 1787—reviewing his trip of 1786—Ainse had said, “. . . Altogether I had then with me 196 (the 176 of the Colonial Office record) persons, and as many more I had sent over by Lake Superior, having appointed them a rendezvous for the second of July on my arrival at Michilimackinac.” The Ojibway signatories had been among these “many more.” Seven each of the Ojibway village and war chiefs signed.

The third nation in the appendage was the Winnebago (listed today as the fourth Siouan division), shown by Ainse under a variant of an obsolete French nickname. Only four village chiefs and two war chiefs signed for the Winnebago. One of each of these evidently represented the Foxes as their village is given as “Village des Renards.”

The most interesting point discovered by myself in regard to the personal names was the identification of the head chief of all the Sioux. I had noticed that Ainse in his review had written, “. . . I sent messengers with twenty branches of porcelaine (beads) to bring back L' Aile Rouge (The Red Wing) first war chief of the Scioux & many others who wished to accompany him home. I succeeded in bringing them back & continued my route as far as Michilimackinac without any interruption.” So my next step was to prove that the first signature of a war chief on the appendage (affixed opposite the principal tribe, the Mdewakanton) was that of Red Wing. The signature is “Tatangamini.” Research revealed that the ruling dynasty of the Dakota was known as Red Wing, and that Red Wing the Second was otherwise known as Tatankamani (Walking Buffalo). Thus it is clear that, despite Ainse's faulty spelling, Red Wing did sign. Incidentally, the fact that he enlisted in the British cause in 1812 speaks well for the success of the Treaty.



In his speech at the Grand Council Dease had promised, "As you have at different times expressed your wishes to return as soon as your business should be accomplished, I shall direct presents to be prepared for the different nations, which I hope they will thankfully receive as instances of the Great King's goodness and bounty to them, which they should have always in remembrance and make known to their nations." In accordance with this promise, Ainse was dispatched the next month with gifts. Dease's letter of instructions, dated Aug. 19th, 1787 authorized him to "return among these Indians & use your best endeavours to establish a lasting peace among them." Along with other admonitions was, "In giving presents you will particularly distinguish such nations or bands as [are] most valuable to the traders, explaining to them distinctly that the presents are not by way of trade but merely from the King's bounty." Further, Ainse was told, "You will in all your proceedings observe the strictest Economy consistent with the business you are sent upon, and on every occasion make the good of His Majesty's Service the principal object of your attention."

But severe repercussions fell upon Dease's head. On Aug. 10th eighteen independent merchants and traders at the post drew up a representation to Capt. Scott, dealing with petty jealousies for the most part and ending with, "We believe that it is more advantageous for us that no goods be sent to the Indians by Government."

Dease then asked for a court of inquiry at the fort "that those accused might have an opportunity of proving the falsehood of the assertions and vindicate their own Characters." But the merchants objected and withdrew their papers in order to send them to Quebec without inquiry.

The complaint, dated Aug. 14th, was forwarded through Capt. Scott to Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton, who had been reappointed governor of Quebec in 1786). On Oct. 29th Le Maistre, the military secretary, wrote Sir John Johnson from Quebec enclosing the papers for his information. On

Nov. 1st orders from Dorchester were dispatched to Scott instructing him "to form a board of Inquiry." The court opened June 24th, 1788 and closed the 8th of July. More than a year elapsed before further developments occurred. On Aug. 22nd, 1789 Sir John wrote Dease from Lachine quoting a letter from Dorchester that stated His Excellency thought it "advisable that Dease & Ainse should come down to explain the reasons of their conduct," and desiring Sir John "to give the necessary orders on that head." Accordingly Sir John summoned the two to Quebec.

In accordance with its appointment by Lord Dorchester in council under date of Dec. 24th, 1789 the committee met at the Council Chamber, Bishop's Palace, Quebec, on Apr. 20th, 1790. His Majesty's attorney-general and solicitor-general were both present, also the two defendants. To review the many sessions of the hearing would require too much space. Leave was granted to Dease and Ainse to return to their duties on June 2nd. On Oct. 11th Sir John drafted a long report to Lord Dorchester from Montreal. The gist of it was that no deviation from instructions regarding loans on Dease's part (made to a destitute white man and repaid by the recipient) was justified, and that Ainse's journey (with the presents) was unnecessary. This report was read to the committee on Oct. 26th. Two days later the committee formed a resolution adverse to Dease and unanimously decided to "submit to His Lordship's Wisdom the course to be pursued relative to Mr. Dease." The final minute was, "Ordered that the Chairman report immediately to His Lordship."

What was Dorchester's verdict? I don't know, nor apparently anyone else. At my request Mr. Brault of the Public Archives of Canada, and also Miss Krum of the Burton Historical Collection at Detroit, made a special search to discover it. Neither was successful. The inference is that the verdict is lost or else was never made public. In any event it must have been mild. Otherwise Dorchester would not—during the very period that Dease was 'under a cloud'—have strongly



recommended that Dease be superintendent-general in his proposal that Sir John Johnson be made governor of the contemplated province of Upper Canada (frustrated by Col. Simcoe's appointment). Anyway Dease retained his position at Michilimackinac.

Despite Sir John's disagreement with Dease's policy, he on June 11th, 1792 in recommending Dease to Maj.-Gen. Sir Alured Clarke to be Canadian representative for fixing Indian boundaries, paid him (Dease) a sterling tribute. He wrote "I know no other person so well qualified in point of abilities and address, as well as from a general knowledge of the dispositions, interests and inclinations of the Six Nations and Western Indians." In other words, Sir John (who remained superintendent until 1830) acknowledged Dease to be the leading authority in 1792 on Indian matters.

The best proof of all that no stigma was attached to Dease's name is the fact that he and his wife were both given the high honor of burial in Notre Dame Church at Montreal—when the former died Jan. 19th, 1801, aged 56 years, and the latter the following year, aged 48.

The Dakota-Ojibway War is credited with having lasted until 1850. This does not mean that the Peace of 1787 was fruitless. No outside human agency could completely end a native war in pre-reservation days. What Dease did was to reduce a strife that had arisen to dangerous proportions in 1786 to mere minor skirmishes. I can find no evidence of serious clashes after 1787. The only casualty list ever compiled is that of the Rev. Pond—for the decade 1835 to 1845. It shows 129 casualties for the Dakota and 88 for the Ojibway—more than half women and children at that. This is remarkably small—about 20 per year in a population of many thousands.

The first transaction with the Dakota on the part of the Americans did not take place until 1806. In that year Lieut. Z. M. Pike (the same officer who was killed at York—Toronto—in 1813) obtained from them, for the U.S.A., a nine mile square tract at the mouth of the St. Croix River and 100,000

acres at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. In 1815 the Americans made a second treaty with the Dakota. This proved to be the 'handwriting on the wall' as far as Canadian-Dakota relations were concerned, for it meant that henceforth the Dakota would be under Uncle Sam's wing. The next year the Canadians, realizing that the 'cold shoulder' must of necessity be given to the Dakota, called them to a conference at Drummond Island. The 'let down' was in the form of a very meagre distribution of presents. Chief Little Crow, incensed by the cold reception and particularly by the sight of the scanty presents, burst out with a most inflammatory tirade. He thereupon kicked the bundles about the room and withdrew with the whole delegation.

The North West Co. was founded about 1776. In 1783 Simon McTavish (a partner of the firm of McTavish & Co. as given in the earliest known list of shareholders dated Apr. 4th, 1780) readjusted the company (and by 1800—as supply agent—was the richest man in Montreal). In McTavish's shake-up the Mississippi trade became just a sideline, important though it was, with concentration on the furs of what are now the Canadian prairies. In 1821, as is well known, the Northwesters united with their long established rival, the Hudson's Bay Co. (incorporated in 1670). In 1821 the former had ninety-seven posts to the latter's seventy-six. With all due credit to McTavish, it is quite logical to conclude that such phenomenal growth was only possible by Dease's successful solution of the crisis of 1786.

An indication that Dease's efforts were appreciated by the North West Co. is the fact that four of his six sons were taken into its service. It is of still more significance that two of them—Captains John Warren Dease and Peter Warren Dease—were amongst the seventeen Northwesters promoted to the rank of chief trader in the amalgamation of 1821.

The giving of presents to Indian nations or tribes was the generally recognized practice in the days before the establishment of reservations. It was the only possible method of com-

pensation for services rendered or promised. In view of Little Crow's violent protest at Drummond Island in 1816, it can readily be seen that the Dakota would undoubtedly have turned against the British in 1787—instead of remaining consistently friendly for nearly three decades—had they not received Dease's promised presents.

The result of Dakota animosity following the Peace of Michilimackinac would have been disastrous. The native war would have been renewed with added fury. In consequence the North West Co. would have folded up, as the profits from the Mississippi trade would no longer have counteracted the heavy expense of haulage of furs from the far west to Montreal. The non-receipt of Dease's presents would undoubtedly have resulted in the Dakota sending out war parties against the British. In that event the vital field-headquarters of the North West Co. at Grand Portage, Minnesota (shifted to Ft. William, Ont., after the fixing of the international boundary in 1800), as well as all lines of communication used in the fur trade in general, would have been menaced. Ft. Michilimackinac itself, the furthest west British stronghold of any importance at the time, might have been attacked by the Winnebago as allies of the Dakota. And exploration of north-west Canada might have been retarded for a generation or two.

Though everyone respects and admires the Dakota of today, it must be remembered that they were capable of inflicting terrible vengeance when incensed. On June 25th, 1876 at the Battle of the Little Big Horn—in Montana just north of the Wyoming state boundary, far from their accustomed haunts—the Dakota under the leadership of Crazy Horse slaughtered Custer and his entire command of 272 well-armed men. And this was the result of a broken promise. Chiefly because of encroaching white settlement, the Americans had plenty of trouble with the Dakota elsewhere—in Minnesota from 1862 to 1865, in North Dakota in 1863 and in South Dakota as late as 1890.

Concerning Joseph Ainse, the *'Wisconsin Historical Collections'* contains a sentence of much import. This reads, "Ainse had many enemies among the Montreal traders centering at Michilimackinac, who thought his influence with the Wisconsin Indians injurious to their interests." It is definitely known that in McTavish's overhaul of 1783 several small traders were crowded out of the North West Co. More than likely the independent traders at Michilimackinac were mostly these rejects. If so, being disgruntled, they naturally took out their spite on Dease and Ainse.

Among the many interesting points brought out by a study of the Peace of Michilimackinac is the emergence of John Dease as a counterpart of Hiawatha. In aims and accomplishments the two had a great deal in common. Comparisons cannot be made here, but it can readily be seen that that Dease is worthy of the designation "The Paleface Hiawatha."

In his address at the Grand Council, Dease mentioned that the Indians had "come to bury deep the war ax." This phrase could be construed as figurative. My transcription—a copy of a copy—of his introduction to the Articles of Peace starts off, "The Village Chiefs and War Chiefs who yesterday in the presence of the Great Spirit and before their Father at the King's Council Fire at Michilimackinac buried their War Hatchet. . ." If 'Hatchet' was in the plural in the original draft—as the possessive 'their' would indicate—there could be little doubt that it is a statement of literal burial. That the plural was probably used is shown in the Colonial Office's reference to Dease's "burying their War Hatchets"—obviously based directly on the introduction.

While "to bury the hatchet" is a common present-day saying, strangely enough after prolonged search I could find but one recorded instance of undoubted burial. This took place at Albany in 1681. The paucity of precedent can possibly be accounted for by few purely native wars having been ceremoniously ended, and by general wars in which Indians par-

ticipated on one side or the other being usually concluded by treaties drawn up in foreign countries.

Last fall I wrote Mr. W. S. Woodfill, president of the Grand Hotel at Mackinac Island, pointing out the strong evidence that a cache of tomahawks was made at the Grand Council of 1787 and suggesting that an effort be made to find it. I also mentioned that the bringing to light of the tomahawks of such an imposing galaxy of powerful chiefs as that given in the appendage of the Treaty would constitute the greatest find of Indian relics of the century in the whole area north of Mexico. In addition I stressed the increase of tourist traffic that recovery of the weapons would bring to Mackinac Island, especially if they could be preserved as an intact exhibit at Ft. Mackinac. My opinion was given that a test excavation would probably be readily undertaken by the proper state officials, owing to its absurdly small cost in comparison to the heavy expense of the average treasure hunt and to the certainty that in the event of nothing being found the monetary loss would be trifling.

Mr. Woodfill enthusiastically expressed agreement with my suggestion and energetically took the matter up with the Hon. W. F. Doyle, the Hon. Chase S. Osborn, Dr. E. F. Greenman and Dr. G. N. Fuller. The latter proposed that a program of publicity and research might well be developed as a preliminary to the excavation. Accordingly I was asked by Dr. Fuller, through Mr. Woodfill, to prepare this article for the Michigan History Magazine.

If the tomahawks are found, it is my hope that public interest will demand the staging of a pageant depicting the Grand Council. I would also like to see undertaken the production of a great historic film dealing with the whole episode.

## COLONEL CHARLES WHITTLESEY

BY ELEANOR ILER SCHAPIRO

WADSWORTH, OHIO

**I**N THE summer of 1886 in the back garden of a white cottage on Euclid Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio, an army tent was pitched. In front of it, sunning himself in his dressing gown, sat an invalided old soldier. Behind him, in the interior of his tent, were some of the mementos which the Colonel wished to have always near him, even when he was sunning himself: a few books, a map or two, an ancient sword with curving blade which he had carried in the Black Hawk War, and the broad-rimmed blue hat he had worn in the battle of Shiloh.

"May I ask," inquired a visitor, recalling the Colonel's attention from his revery, "about that unusual stone which I passed in your front yard as I came in?"

"My dear sir," replied Colonel Whittlesey—his still keen eyes now focused on his caller—"I had that stone shipped from the shores of Lake Superior, where I spent in all fifteen of the happiest seasons of my life."

On one surface of that beautiful white boulder impregnated with red jasper spots was carved CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

A few months later they moved that stone from the front yard on Euclid Avenue to mark the grave of the Colonel who so deeply loved it as an eternal symbol of the once wild shores of the Shining Big Sea Water.

Today the lurid flames from the blast furnaces and steel mills are reflected in the night skies above Cleveland, Lorain, Youngstown, and Pittsburgh. Today, fleets of ore carriers ply the surface of the Great Lakes. But only yesterday Colonel Charles Whittlesey was standing upon his "peak in Darien" in the trackless lands of the Lake Superior country, among the first to discover the mineral wealth which was to initiate this drama of iron and steel, to transform his home section into the Ruhr of America.

Charles Whittlesey was not only a geologist who "was largely instrumental in discovering and causing the development of the great iron and copper region of Lake Superior", according to the *New York Herald* at the time of his death in 1886, but he was also a leather-jerkined pioneer, arriving in a covered wagon to help to populate the wilderness of the Western Reserve of Ohio. He was, moreover, a soldier: a West Pointer, a youthful Indian fighter in the Black Hawk War, and a grim colonel in blue at Fort Donelson and at Shiloh, frequently cited for bravery under fire.

In the early 1800's, the United States Military Academy was the only source of supply for technically trained engineers to open up the vast stretches of our western lands to the oncoming surge of migration. Influenced by Lieutenant William Williams Mather, his instructor in geology at West Point, Charles Whittlesey became a pioneer geologist and surveyor in times of peace. When he was a young man of only thirty, as an assistant to Lieutenant Mather in the first geological survey of Ohio in 1838, Charles Whittlesey was enacting the prelude to his discoveries of minerals around Lake Superior. The findings of this survey disclosed many of the coal-mining potentialities of Ohio. Young Whittlesey was also intimately associated with the building of many of the early railroads of this section. To the future union of coal and iron by the railroads, which makes much of the American scene what it is today, he was an original sponsor.

The dynamo of Colonel Whittlesey's versatile energy, however, could not be limited to only a few outlets. For a time he practiced law in Cleveland, and for a time he also edited a newspaper there, issuing the first daily sheet that growing community was privileged to read; but the pursuits that afforded him the greatest personal pleasure were those of the scholar. His courageous originality in thinking led him not only to physical explorations but also to those mental frontiers which are still being explored. His bibliography of more than two hundred titles reveals that more of his literary





Col. Charles Whittlesey



attention was directed toward archaeological and historical subjects than toward either military or geological topics. His most youthful work on the remains of the mound-builders was incorporated into the first *Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge* in 1848. His *Early History of Cleveland* is still authoritative for its period. His efforts in assisting to found the Cleveland Public Library and the Western Reserve Historical Society have borne fruit in institutions whose collections on certain subjects are of nationally recognized superiority.

In his old age, Colonel Whittlesey was absorbed with the conflict between religion and science which was then raging between the Darwinians and the fundamentalists. His last written comments on those profound mysteries were the crystallizations of a lifetime's contemplation of them. Charles Whittlesey was born a Puritan, lived a Puritan, and died a Puritan, albeit a practical, scientific man, out of whom the dross of that religious persuasion, theological fanaticism, had been purified.

While New England Puritanism was being attenuated on its native soil by the Transcendentalists, it was making its last unadulterated and self-conscious stand in the settlers of the Connecticut Western Reserve in Ohio. Charles Whittlesey's father, a descendant of Puritan immigrants of the 1630 exodus from England, deliberately chose Tallmadge, Ohio, in which to establish a new home, because it was the only one of all the Reserve settlements which purposed still to maintain within itself a formal union between church and state. The indelible spiritual influences of such an ancestry and of such an environment in boyhood were always plainly visible in the character of Charles Whittlesey. In contemplating his life, one is constantly impressed by the thought that here in this nineteenth century soldier-Puritan is indeed a spiritual descendant of Oliver Cromwell.

Although Whittlesey retired from active military service at the close of the Black Hawk War, he always felt, as a West

Point graduate, that his obligation to serve his country as a soldier in time of war was a paramount duty. When the first rumblings of open rebellion were heard immediately before Lincoln's inauguration, Colonel Whittlesey was engaged upon a geological survey of Wisconsin. Then a man of fifty-three, he immediately hastened home to Ohio to volunteer his services. Two days after the proclamation of April 15, 1861, he joined the governor's staff as assistant quartermaster-general. A few months later he was appointed colonel of the Twentieth Ohio Volunteer Regiment and detailed as chief engineer of the Department of Ohio, in which capacity he planned and directed the construction of the defenses of the city of Cincinnati, which was then threatened. General Halleck credits Colonel Whittlesey with first pointing out to him, as early as November, 1861, the possibilities of the grand strategy of advancing up the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, a movement which later proved to be decisive in the winning of the campaign in the West. After commanding his regiment at Fort Donelson, Whittlesey was sent north from there with the prisoners taken, over ten thousand of whom were committed to his charge. In April, 1862, the Colonel commanded a brigade at the battle of Shiloh as his last action in the war. Failing health then forced him to resign, but General Grant endorsed the application, "We cannot afford to lose so good an officer."

Charles Whittlesey could not escape being a man of his age in many respects. His life was tributary to numerous main-streams of national history: the opening of the West, the discovering and developing of natural resources, the fighting of the sectional conflict, and the beginnings of American critical scholarship. But, in that he was a pioneer far in advance of the horizons of most of his contemporaries, he suffered that tragic lack of appreciation which is the usual lot of men who are ahead of their time. The very prophetic quality of most of his accomplishments rendered it impossible for his contemporaries to evaluate and credit them fairly. There-

fore it is the present function of a biographer aspiring to interpret the life of Colonel Whittlesey not only to provide a narrative but also to evaluate his achievement as only the revelations of subsequent developments have made possible.

In the first dusty volume of the manuscript records of the Tallmadge (Ohio) Historical Society, the priceless possessions of that Western Reserve village which Charles Whittlesey called his "home town", in the steep handwriting of a rustic local historian long since gone, are these significant words:

"There are those Whittleseys living as well as those whose names are registered with the dead who have ranked in the front class at the bar, on the bench, in the halls of Congress, and in the executive department, in geology and in other sciences, whose history it is improper now to write, but whose biography will one day stand beside the great and good of the land. It will be the pleasing task of some future writer to portray their virtues. . . in all human probability after most of us have passed into history as things that were."

It appears that perhaps the time is now ripe for that "pleasing task", the production of a full-length biography of Colonel Charles Whittlesey.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This task is being undertaken by Mrs. Schapiro.—Ed.

## LEONARD SLATER—WHO GAVE HIS YOUTH

BY COE HAYNE

NEW YORK CITY

**A**T TWENTY-FOUR years of age Leonard Slater, of Worcester, Massachusetts (born November 16, 1802), received an appointment by the Domestic Department of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society to join Isaac McCoy in the Michigan wilderness as a missionary to the American Indians. The year was 1826. With his wife he set out in September, 1826, from his New England home on the long and difficult journey to the Carey Indian Mission Station located near the present site of Niles, Michigan.

After leaving Albany the young couple pursued their journey on the Erie Canal to Buffalo in a freight-boat; traveling night and day (Sundays excepted), they reached Buffalo nine days later. They went by stage to Erie, Pennsylvania, where they took passage on a steamboat for Detroit and arrived there two days later. Directly upon their arrival they presented a letter of recommendation to Francis P. Browning<sup>1</sup> who received them cordially into his family, to wait for the arrival of a guide with saddle horses from Carey. With some degree of impatience they waited two weeks. Then with expressions of gratitude to Mr. Browning and his family for their hospitality they set out on their arduous horseback trip through the wilderness.

The party was nine days traveling from Detroit to Niles (Carey Mission) experiencing wet and cold weather. At night they spread their blankets on the inhospitable ground.

<sup>1</sup>Not only Leonard Slater, of The Thomas Mission (Grand Rapids), but Abel Bingham, the pioneer Baptist missionary among the Indians at Sault Sainte Marie, passed through Detroit (Leonard in 1826 and Bingham in 1828) on the way to their respective fields of labor; both were entertained at the home of Francis F. Browning. In their journals both referred to this Detroit merchant in terms of highest esteem and gratitude. His was preeminently the type of Christian manhood that brought Michigan's early settlements forward in matters of education, religion and morals. During his brief life in eastern Michigan he spared neither time nor substance to advance public welfare. "Among the outstanding laymen in these early years . . . Francis P. Browning should be first mentioned," wrote Thomas T. Leete, Jr., in 1928. Mr. Leete's reference to the man is appended.

Breaking out of the woods into a clearing one day the Slaters looked out over the Kalamazoo Valley and saw a village nestling beside the river. In this settlement, that later became the city of Kalamazoo, there was only one white man, a French trader by the name of Numaiville. Slater was so delighted with the valley that he said that some day he would like to come back to it. On September 27 they reached Carey and were received cordially by the missionaries there. At the station were Indians, French, and Americans, about eighty people in all, sixty of whom were Indian boys and girls who had been gathered from among the Potawatomi and Miami tribes for Christian instruction.

In 1827 Slater was transferred to Thomas Station (now Grand Rapids), where he remained nine years, teaching and preaching. He learned the Ottawa language so as to use it as readily as English. The Indians became greatly attached to him, and under his teaching many of them became converts to the Christian religion, among whom was the famous Chief Noonday. Isaac McCoy was the founder of Thomas Indian Mission Station; consequently one of the founders of Grand Rapids and has been so regarded by its historians.

The progress of white settlements made necessary a change of residence for Mr. Slater, and in 1836 he removed to Barry County, near Prairieville, where he purchased eighty acres of land and founded a mission and a school for the Ottawas known as Slater Station, which he maintained for the next sixteen years.

To the limit of his power Slater furthered the welfare of the Indians by preaching and teaching and tried in every way possible to shield them from the exploitations of the greedy, rum-selling white man.

In 1852 Leonard Slater moved to Kalamazoo and rode horseback from this point to his Indian field in Barry County. He also preached to the Indians on the streets of Kalamazoo, and Mrs. Slater taught a Sunday school class of Indian children under the trees that now adorn Bronson Park.



Leonard Slater

When the Indians had been removed Slater devoted himself to the Negroes of Kalamazoo. When he died in Kalamazoo on April 27, 1866, the pioneers for miles around mourned the loss of a great man—one who had lived worthily and had left behind him a memory and example of unselfish living and undying courage. He was buried in Riverside Cemetery, near the spot where he stood in 1826 when he caught his first view of the beautiful Kalamazoo Valley. His last utterance was "Bury me by the Kalamazoo, on the spot where I first spread my tent and slept by the Indian trading-post, on the night of my coming to the Mission."

Slater from the beginning of the movement that resulted in the founding of Kalamazoo College, in 1833, exhibited a genuine interest in the school. When the Baptists of Michigan realized that they must come to the support of the institution and forty acres of land were purchased on the west side of the village, a few individuals—John P. March, S. H. Ransom, Thomas W. Merrill and Leonard Slater being among them—contributed a sum sufficient to pay for the purchase of the land.<sup>2</sup>

*Tribute by Thomas T. Leete, Jr. to Francis P. Browning*

Mr. Browning was a business man with far-seeing vision. He built the first steam mill in Michigan on the Black River in what is now Port Huron. He was considered one of the constituent members of the First Church of Detroit in 1827, although his church letter from the Pontiac Church was not received in time for the organization. He was designated as the leader in church service for three years, until 1831, while the

<sup>2</sup>On July 27, 1939, delegates from all sections of lower Michigan to a Baptist summer assembly held on the campus of Kalamazoo College, made a pilgrimage to the grave of Leonard Slater. The late Rev. John Frost, a Crow pastor at Pryor, Montana, took part in the ceremonies, laying a floral tribute on the grave, honoring in the name of the Crow tribe the memory of a devoted friend of the American Indian. The late President Allan Hoben, of Kalamazoo College, reviewed the life of Leonard Slater. The then mayor of Kalamazoo, Hon. Edward M. Kennedy, delivered a brief address. Mrs. William Slater and her son, Lewis G., both of Kalamazoo, the latter being a great grandson of Leonard Slater, were present (see accompanying photograph).





From extreme right (front row) Rev. Forrest Ashbrook, then pastor of First Baptist Church, Kalamazoo; the late Rev. John Frost, Crow pastor of Montana; Rev. Morgan L. Williams, dean of Michigan Baptist Assembly (1929); Hon. Edw. M. Kennedy, mayor of Kalamazoo (1929); at left of Slater monument, the late President Allan Hoben, Kalamazoo College; Mrs. William Slater, Lewis G. Slater, great grandson of Leonard Slater; at extreme left, Coe Hayne of New York City who assisted in conducting the pilgrimage.



church was without a pastor. Rev. Samuel Haskell in his historical address in 1852 says of Mr. Browning:

Brother Browning was accustomed to expound the Scriptures, read public discourses, conduct a Sunday school and exercise a general presidency over the action of the church. Though not solicited by agents, they did not forget to send up their annual contribution to the treasurer of Home & Foreign Missions and tract and Bible organizations. The efforts of Mr. Browning and others placed on the lot (at the corner of Fort and Griswold Streets) a building for the use of the church, of humble dimensions but of precious memory to those whose recollection extended back to the scenes within its walls.

The scourge of cholera appeared in the city in 1832 and the church was again without a pastor and great discouragement prevailed, but Mr. Browning again took the lead and at his own expense went in person to Eastern cities to find a pastor for the little group. He was unsuccessful in his mission, but the church kept its faith and under his leadership completed the new church building—which became a visible monument to his untiring energy, for he died in the cholera scourge that again visited the city in 1834 and was the most fatal of all cholera seasons to the little city. Quoting again from Doctor Haskell:

Browning with many of his fellow citizens sank under the stroke of the pestilence as he was hastening to and fro through the wasted and frightened city, striving to put back that stroke from others. The pastor's place, the office of deacon, clerk, Sunday School superintendent and trustee, all of which he filled, were by that one sad blow vacated.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>*Baptist Centenary—Detroit, Michigan, Detroit, 1926.*

*In Vol. 35, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society's  
COLLECTIONS, 1907, the following sketch is given  
of Leonard Slater*

Peter Slater, the father of Leonard Slater, was one of the participants in the "Boston Tea Party" . . . He established the first Sunday school, the first Bible Class and the first grammar class in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Leonard inherited his spirit of patriotism as was shown in the last public act of his life when he offered his services to the Christian Commission during the War of Rebellion and without pay going into hospital work in Tennessee, this, too, in his declining years after a strenuous life. He had a broad humanitarianism which early caused him to study for the ministry with an earnest desire of being sent out as a missionary. He was appointed missionary to the Indians in 1826 and a few weeks later was united in marriage to Mary French Ide of Claremont, N.H., a woman greatly beloved and respected. She proved an able helpmate indeed, bearing patiently the trials of pioneer life and winning the love of Indians and whites alike.

Bidding farewell to parents and friends the young couple started soon after their marriage on their mission. Their bridal trip was made through the wild woods of Michigan's territory—that is from Detroit to Niles—on horseback through an unbroken wilderness over an Indian trail marked by blazed trees. Their goods were sent by the lake, part way in a row boat, and when the boxes reached Niles were badly damaged by water.

On arriving at Kalamazoo and finding no bridge, they crossed at the old fording place near the hill where then stood the old Rix Robinson Trading Post, and now lies Riverside Cemetery. From this elevation they caught their first view of Kalamazoo River as it flowed below in all its singular loveliness winding in and out through the unbroken wilderness of trees and shrubs. His body now rests there and beside him his daughter Emily.

## OLIVET COLLEGE: 1844-1944

(Olivet College observed its 100th anniversary February 24, 1944, with a Centennial convocation which took place in the auditorium of the Congregational Church at Olivet. This article is based on data contained in the *Olivet College Bulletin*, 100th Founder's Day Anniversary edition, January, 1944.—Ed.)

**I**T was in November, 1843, that the Rev. John J. Shipherd came up from Ohio into Michigan to make a preliminary survey for a new colony and school as the next step in carrying out the "Grand Scheme" for the salvation of the "wicked Valley of the Mississippi" of which his founding of Oberlin College in 1833 had been the first. While journeying on horseback from Marshall towards the banks of the Grand River, near Lansing, where he intended to establish his new Seminary, he three times lost his way in the woods and three times found himself returned to the same oak-crowned hill top. Seeing in this the hand of God, he dismounted and knelt reverently to dedicate the spot to the settlement which he subsequently named Olivet.

On February 13, 1844, Father Shipherd and his band of courageous and determined pioneers, thirty-nine in all, including children, set out from Oberlin with their possessions. They arrived in Olivet on Saturday afternoon, February 24. It is said that Mrs. Shipherd, climbing up on a log and surveying the small clearings in what was virtually wilderness, with two or three abandoned log houses scattered on the outskirts, remarked to her husband, "Your village, Mr. Shipherd, looks better on paper than in reality." But they set to work making homes for themselves. Some managed to live in the abandoned log cabins and some were hospitably taken into the already full houses of the earlier settlers, who were delighted at their coming. They cleared away trees and planted crops. They built a saw mill and a grist mill. But then malaria broke out and spread until there were more sick than well and Father Shipherd died. Should they try to continue or should they give up the enterprise as hopeless? They would wait until Mr. Reuben Hatch, who was to be the first president of the new college, should arrive and see how he felt about it.



Mrs. John J. Shipherd, wife of "Father Shipherd", founder of Olivet College

Mr. Reuben Hatch, just out of Oberlin himself, came and found conditions as bad as they had been reported, but he was young and strong, and he said that the reasons which had originally led to the undertaking were as valid as ever. And so Olivet College, though not legally incorporated, sent out bulletins announcing the opening of its first term.

Early in December, 1845, Olivet College formally opened with Reuben Hatch as president and teacher of languages, Oramel Hosford as teacher of mathematics, Charles A. Jennison as a third teacher, and nine students. During the term the number of students was doubled. The first Commencement exercises were held on June 27.

The first catalogue was published in 1846. It had been written by President Hatch and printed at his expense though it was issued in the name of the Trustees. It listed seventy-two students, of whom thirty-nine were "ladies" and thirty-three "gentlemen". Tuition for men was ten dollars a year, for women nine dollars. Fees were one dollar, fuel could be had for the getting, and board was a dollar a week.

Colonial Hall, the first building, was completed in 1849. This was a three-story building on the campus square opposite where Shipherd Hall now stands. On the first floor were much-needed classrooms and the two upper floors were living quarters for men.

Application for a collegiate charter for the Olivet Institute had been made to the State Legislature as early as 1845, but that body, intent on protecting the infant University of Michigan, viewed with disfavor attempts to found what might prove competitive institutions. Moreover, Olivet's petition was especially objectionable, for it was notorious that the new Institute opposed slavery, permitted manual labor and favored co-education. It was thirteen years before Olivet was deemed sufficiently respectable to be incorporated. But on the last day of 1858 the trustees of the Olivet Institute held their last meeting, and, after they had resigned as trustees of the Institute, held their first meeting as trustees of Olivet Col-

lege, for at long last the College had been granted a charter by the State of Michigan.

In 1859 the Rev. M. W. Fairfield was chosen President of the College, and Shipherd Hall was completed. In this year also a Ladies' Board was appointed, the original of the present Women's Auxiliary Board.

Hardly was the College organized when its men were called away to the Civil War. Its first four graduating classes were made up only of women. And the College lacked not only students but money. The situation looked so dark that Professor Morrison, who was Acting-President, even proposed to the Board of Trustees that "the whole concern be wound up at the close of the present term." Fortunately the proposal after being discussed at three meetings was voted down.

On March 20, 1861, the society which had begun in 1847 as the Olivet Lyceum and three years later changed its name to the Philalethian Society, was reorganized into the Phi Alpha Pi Fraternity. Its hall was built in 1892.

In 1865 the Preparatory Department was distinguished from the College proper and was abandoned only in 1907. A revival of work for younger students under the newly organized programs of Hosford and Shipherd Houses was instituted in 1943.

In 1865 the Adelphic Society took its present name. The Group, organized on December 15, 1862, had previously called itself "Clever Fellows". It met in various rooms in the College until 1889 when the present hall was built.

The Soronian Society also completed its organization and adopted its present name in 1865. When the fourth floor was added to Shipherd Hall in 1871 the Board of Trustees gave the Soronians permission to furnish rooms for their meetings there. But as time went on, their hearts were set on having a house of their own. In June, 1900, the Board of Trustees voted them a site for their house, and in 1909 Soronian Hall was built.

Parsons Hall, a dormitory for men, was completed in 1871. It housed successive generations of the men of the College until it burned in 1928. It was replaced in 1929 by Blair Hall.

In the 1870's Olivet entertained its first resident artist, Col. James Fairman. In 1937 this custom was revived and a practicing artist has been in residence and a member of the Faculty ever since.

In 1872 President Nathan J. Morrison resigned in order to found Drury College in Springfield, Missouri, of which he was the first president. The first funds for this new venture were supplied by residents of Olivet, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Drury, and the college was named in memory of their son.

Mather Hall, the Science Building, was finished in 1885 and named in honor of Roland Mather of Hartford, Connecticut.

At Commencement 1889 the cornerstone of the library building was laid by Professor Joseph L. Daniels, the man who had carefully and wisely built up the College library and whose untiring efforts were chiefly responsible for fulfilling his dream of having a building to house it.

In 1893 The Rev. Willard G. Sperry became President of the College. On December 9 Professor Hosford died. He had retired in 1890 after teaching in the College since 1844 (It is said that he taught the first class ever held there) with the exception of eight years when he was State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

In this year also the cornerstone of the church was laid by President Butterfield. After the arrival of the colony in 1844 the first church services were held in Father Shipherd's house. The first chapel was the upper room of the school building which was erected in 1846. When that burned in 1851 the chapel was moved to Colonial Hall. But this soon became too small and the following year a one-story frame building was erected for a chapel with a seating capacity of three hundred. In 1865 it was decided to lengthen this building and raise it to two stories, with the chapel on the second floor and classrooms on the first. This place of worship served both College



and village until the church was completed in 1894, and continued to serve as College chapel until it was removed in 1933 after the erection of Dole Hall.

In 1907 the Sigma Beta Society was organized.

At its meeting on June 10, 1918, the Board of Trustees voted unanimously "That in view of the conditions created by the present world war, the College be closed for the duration of the war." On June 22, the Board met to reconsider the decision of the previous meeting and to discuss a proposition submitted by the Rev. T. H. Wilson and five other members of the College faculty that they continue the school for a year on a war basis. The Board voted unanimously to accept the proposition. The College was operated accordingly during the year 1918-1919 and closed at the end of that year.

But the feeling that there was a need for the kind of education which Olivet College could give was so strong that the Board of Trustees after several meetings voted to reopen the College and appointed Paul F. Voelker president. The College reopened in September, 1920, and a considerable number of its former students came back to finish their work and take their degrees at the college which they so loved.

The Kappa Sigma Alpha Fraternity was organized in 1922. In 1924 it was incorporated and in that year purchased the house which had originally been the home of Professor Daniels. After that burned in 1928 the fraternity held its meetings in a room on the third floor of Blair Hall until 1931 when it bought its present home, formerly known as the Hance house.

At Commencement 1928 the cornerstone of the MacKay Gymnasium was laid. Before this, the department of athletics had had to content itself with the old building which had first been Colonial Hall and had in 1888 been removed to the present site of the gymnasium. This the students, upon petition, had been granted permission by the Trustees to turn into a gymnasium provided they could do it without cost to the College. Somehow they managed to enlarge it, put it upon a stone foundation, and equip it to meet the requirements of the time.



Shipperd Hall, Olivet College

In 1933, Dole Residence Hall for Women, the gift of Andrew R. Dole and Mary Hooker Dole, was opened, and Shipherd Hall was converted into the administration building, with offices for the faculty and classrooms on the second floor.

In 1934, Mr. Joseph Brewer was appointed President of the College and the new educational system based upon the tutorial plan was introduced.

Although Olivet College is technically undenominational and is controlled by an autonomous and self-perpetuating Board of Trustees, it has always been regarded as a Congregational College. Until the founding of Alma College in 1886, it enjoyed the sponsorship of both the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, but by tradition and actual voting participation in the General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches its basic connections have always been Congregational. The motto of the College is "Pro Christo et Humanitate."

## EARLY SUGAR-BEET INDUSTRY IN MICHIGAN

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THE raising of sugar-beets and their manufacture into the refined product are now on a well established basis in Michigan, but the initial experiments in both phases of the industry, which were first attempted over a century ago, resulted in failure. The ventures are of significance, however, in the agricultural history of the state, since they represented certain contemporary trends in husbandry, of attempting to discover crops that would yield a cash income to supplement the amount received from wheat and the other more standard products. The peculiar emphasis upon the sugar-beet can be attributed to the efforts of a very few persons who believed, and hoped, that their enthusiastic faith would be rewarded.

Previous developments in the sugar-beet industry were still of an exploratory character when Michigan activity was first witnessed in 1838. The discovery of sugar in the beet was made as early as 1747, by Andrew Marggraf, a German chemist. Commercial factories were not successfully operated however until early in the nineteenth century, when the English blockade forced Napoleon to encourage the new industry with government assistance. Although the practicability of the European plants was not definitely established, yet American interest, especially in the thirties, was aroused. The Beet Sugar Society of Philadelphia served as a pioneer in encouraging the culture of the beet, although its commercial aspects were very limited.<sup>1</sup>

Of greater importance was the contribution of David Lee Child, a native of Massachusetts, who became a sugar-beet enthusiast and spent considerable time in Europe in studying

<sup>1</sup>A helpful survey of the early history of the industry is to be found in F. S. Harris, *The Sugar-Beet in America* (New York, 1839), pp. 6-16.

both the growth and processing of the beet. He built a plant at Northampton, Massachusetts, but his venture was short lived. Child was significant, however, because he widely publicized his activities and plans. Editors of agricultural journals and others especially interested in progressive husbandry came to regard him as an authority on the subject and quoted him freely.<sup>2</sup>

It was during the period of Child's activities that attention was seriously given to the sugar-beet. During the 1838 session of the Michigan legislature a bill was introduced by Thomas Gidley of Jackson to provide a bounty of two cents for each pound of sugar-beet manufactured.<sup>3</sup> The sponsoring of legislation of this character should not be regarded as unusual. The infant Michigan government had just completed plans for an elaborate program of internal improvements to be undertaken by or with the assistance of state money.<sup>4</sup> The sugar bounty, of the type proposed, could be regarded as a subsidy to encourage agriculture and precedent could be found in the actions of various legislatures.<sup>5</sup>

Encouragement for the bounty was expressed in the report of the Committee on Agriculture and Manufacturers to which Gidley's proposal had been referred. The report stated that "the manufacture of sugar from the beet, has for many years past been considered a subject of great importance, and has directly or indirectly received governmental patronage, from many of the governments of the old world, but has not, until within the last few years excited much attention or interest in this country, from the impression that in the manufacture of sugar, the beet could not come in successful competition with the sugar cane of the south. Recent experiments, however, in the middle and eastern states, fully demonstrate that such an impression was an erroneous one . . . . The committee, from their

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>Michigan, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1838 (Detroit, 1838), p. 117.

<sup>4</sup>Lawton T. Hemans, *Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason* (Lansing, 1930, pp. 389-444.

<sup>5</sup>Perry Bidwell and John Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925), p. 193.

acquaintance, with the nature of the soil and climate of this state, and from their experience in the growth of the beet, do not hesitate to express the opinion, that no part of the United States, or perhaps of the world is more favorable to the growth of the raw material for the manufacture of beet-sugar, than the greater portion of the state . . . [Since it is our aim] to be as independent of the other states or countries as possible, and liberally to encourage the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the state . . . [support is advocated]."<sup>6</sup>

In its final form the bill provided for a "bounty of two cents on every pound of dry sugar, manufactured from the beet, within the limits of the state."<sup>7</sup> A procedure, designed to prevent fraud, was carefully outlined. Applicants for the bounty were required to appear before a justice of the peace and under oath declare that the product was manufactured in accordance with the prescribed regulations. The vice-president of the state agricultural society was to pass upon the quality of the specimens presented.<sup>8</sup>

This legislation undoubtedly stimulated the formation of the White Pigeon Beet-Sugar Manufactory—the only one, then, to be constructed and operated in Michigan. White Pigeon was already the home of several small manufacturing establishments when the sugar enterprise was launched by several of its leading citizens.<sup>9</sup> Stock subscriptions were made by a substantial number of individuals, although interest in the project naturally was shared by farmers in the vicinity.<sup>10</sup>

A high degree of progress had been achieved by January, 1839, when the company applied to the legislature for a loan of five thousand dollars. The concern was especially fortunate in having as its sponsor Samuel Chapin, representative of St.

<sup>6</sup>Michigan, *Documents accompanying the Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan at the Annual Session in 1838* (Detroit, 1838), p. 573.

<sup>7</sup>Michigan, *Acts of the Legislative of the State of Michigan; Passed at the Adjourned Session of 1837, and the Regular Session of 1838* (Detroit, 1838), p. 101.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>9</sup>L. H. Everts and Company, editor, *History of St. Joseph County, Michigan* (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 65.

<sup>10</sup>Michigan, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1839* (Detroit 1839), p. 59.

Joseph County, and active in the affairs of the company.<sup>11</sup> The measure was referred ultimately to a select committee of which Chapin was the chairman.

The committee presented both evidence and arguments in support of the bill. It was conceded that there might be an aversion to the loan, but the committee suggested that the legal organization of the company and its initial activities warranted assistance. It was argued that the stock holders had already taken a greater proportionate risk than would the state. The committee reminded the legislature of the loans made for internal improvements and insisted that by comparison little had been done to advance agriculture. It was also pointed out that the White Pigeon company could prove either the future practicability or impracticability of the sugar-beet in Michigan. Additional arguments, similar in character to those advanced when the bounty was under consideration, were also made.<sup>12</sup>

The proposal to loan the White Pigeon factory five thousand dollars passed both houses but the conditions attached to the negotiations were of a character that would make realization remote. The company was to mortgage itself (without further encumbrances) to the extent of ten thousand dollars, if in the opinion of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the property could be equitably valued as such. The same state official was not to authorize the granting of the appropriation "until all other loans previously made should be provided for, nor so as in any way to lessen the sum or sums to be distributed among the school districts."<sup>13</sup>

These restrictions, which made the loan improbable under favorable conditions, operated severely against the White Pigeon group because of the severity of the financial panic in Michigan. Undoubtedly some legislators favored the bill only because they thought that its terms would not be realized.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>Michigan, *Documents accompanying the Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, at the Annual Session in 1839* (Detroit, 1839), pp. 603-605.

<sup>13</sup>Michigan, *Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, Passed at the Annual Session of 1839* (Detroit, 1839), p. 156.



There is no record to indicate that the White Pigeon company received any sum from either the loan or bounty legislation.

Enthusiasm, nevertheless, was at a high peak in 1839. Probably many shared the sentiments of one villager who stated that "we expect to use some of the sugar in our coffee tomorrow morning. We hope our farmers will raise a large quantity of the beet this year. It is thought the soil of the burr oak land is better adapted to the raising of the beet than the soil of the prairies. It is thought that the soil of the prairie is too rich for it. Tomorrow we can boast of having done what has not been done in any other portion of the United States, except the one in this village."<sup>14</sup>

In spite of its inability to receive state assistance the White Pigeon company continued to function for two years, after which time operations were discontinued.<sup>15</sup> The lack of success can be attributed in part to the techniques of production that were applied. The process was patterned after an obsolete French method, and its practicability was doubted by contemporaries. A large amount of molasses was produced, but little crystalized sugar could be manufactured from it.<sup>16</sup> John Barry, one of the stockholders, reported that even the molasses was not "tolerable to the taste."<sup>17</sup>

Early experiments with the beet-sugar were not confined to the White Pigeon area. Lucius Lyon, noted for his astuteness in business affairs, developed a keen interest in the possibilities of the sugar-beet culture and received assistance from Child.<sup>18</sup> Although his activities were of a restricted character, he reported that he was "fully satisfied that the beet will grow well on the soil of this State, for I raised last summer a crop of about 30 acres on my farm at Lyons, and though they were very much injured by the worms and grasshoppers when small,

<sup>14</sup>Niles *Intelligencer*, March 13, 1839.

<sup>15</sup>*Western Farmer*, June 1, 1841.

<sup>16</sup>L. G. Stuart, "Letters of Lucius Lyon," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection*, XXVII (1897), p. 533.

<sup>17</sup>*Western Farmer*, June 1, 1841.

<sup>18</sup>Stuart, *op. cit.*, pp. 534-535.

I still got about ten tons to the acre at about the same expense that as many acres of potatoes would have cost me."<sup>19</sup>

A new emphasis upon the sugar-beet was made possible in 1841 with the appearance of Michigan's first farm Journal—the *Western Farmer*, of Detroit. The role of the farm press in promoting scientific husbandry and in suggesting means of increasing income was especially significant.<sup>20</sup> Letters describing experiences were both numerous and helpful.

Although the possibilities of the sugar-beet were not unduly stressed, the subject received considerable space in the columns of the *Western Farmer*. The editor, in the first issue, called the attention of his subscribers to a letter from John Barry in which the writer in detail summarized his experiences in studying sugar-beet manufacturing techniques in Europe. Barry was of the impression that Michigan farmers should no longer devote acreage to the crop and accordingly his account is not without bias. Readers could not fail to be impressed, however, with the thoroughness with which the future governor of Michigan studied his task.<sup>21</sup>

Barry's comments resulted in a number of replies of criticism of his view that the sugar-beet culture was not practicable in Michigan. An A. C. Holt of Washtenaw took issue with Barry and stated that he had made one gallon of molasses from one bushel of home-grown beets. He maintained that his products were as tasteful as those from the West Indies and that no special equipment, of the type that Barry had described, was necessary. Holt also reported that a neighbor had also secured a well grained sugar without any special process.<sup>22</sup>

Some of the letters to the *Western Farmer* indicated that certain farmers had found the sugar-beet valuable other than for the purpose of selling to refineries or producing their own molasses and sugar. It was reported that William Hunt of Hamtramck had used seed which was supplied to him by

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>20</sup>Albert Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press 1819-1860* (New York, 1941).

<sup>21</sup>*Western Farmer*, January 19, 1841.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, February 16, 1841. Holt was an enthusiast for various novel products including silk. His views were rarely based upon long scale evidence.

Ronaldson<sup>23</sup> and which "can be depended upon as a genuine article. All farmers know the value of the sugar-beet for milch cows particularly in the winter, and all who wish to increase the quantity of their milk will this year plant a patch of sugar-beet."<sup>24</sup> In a similar vein farmers were encouraged to "plough your ground as early this month as possible; plough it as deep as you can; then harrow it; and let it remain until you are ready to plant your beets; and be sure to get your beets in the earth during the first weeks of May. One acre of . . . roots, well manured and tended, will enable you to keep your milch cows to the pail all winter, and thus entitle you to the thanks of your better half."<sup>25</sup>

Further information about the value of the sugar-beet as a source of food for cattle is offered by another farmer who stated that "the culture of the rutabaga, mangle wurtzel, sugar-beet and carrot has greatly increased in this State, the present season. Nothing can more clearly indicate that farmers are beginning to understand their true interests, then a general extension of root culture. In no other way can so great a quantity of food be raised from a given quantity of land, and certainly there are few kinds more nutritious and valuable . . . where grounds were heavy, the continued bad weather of the spring was prejudiced to the germination and growth of the seed, [by the way, heavy soils, or soils inclining to clay, should never be selected for roots, a rich loam being far better], yet on the whole, appearances are fair. If we wish to raise more cattle and sheep, and at the same time keep up our wheat crops, we must raise more roots."<sup>26</sup>

The major issue, however, during 1841 was the practicability of raising the sugar-beet for ultimate conversion by a manufacturing process into sugar that could be consumed in the household. Barry's position was bitterly assailed by one writer: "In the first number of your paper I have read a communication from J. S. Barry, Esq., in relation to the culture

<sup>23</sup>Ronaldson had been affiliated with the Philadelphia society.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, April 1, 1841.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, August 16, 1841.

of the sugar-beet, and the manufacture of beet-sugar, which has greatly surprised me, and if his statements and deductions shall be found correct, will discourage all persons from attempting the production of this staple in Michigan.

"I am not an agriculturist, but for reasons not necessary to mention, have paid some attention to this subject for several years, and am persuaded that Mr. Barry's information was derived from a prejudiced cause; indeed, it is natural that his informants, who were protesting against the excise duty in France, should represent the production and profit at the lowest rate possible.

"I have among other papers on this subject, preserved a very able and detailed statement, made by a gentleman who visited France a few years since for the purpose of investigation, and published in the Northampton Courier. . . .

"The writer alluded to, gives as the highest average production in France, fifteen tons of beet to the acre, and this under a most expensive and careful cultivation, while in the vicinity of Philadelphia, *sixty-two and one-half tons* have been raised on a single acre; and the author from observation gives it as his opinion, that at least double the French product may be obtained on our soils with much less expenditure of time and labor in the cultivation.

"The highest rates of production from the beet in granulated sugar, are given at 9 per cent; and in addition, 4 per cent of molasses—but the average product does not exceed 8 per cent of sugar, and 3 per cent of molasses. These factors were obtained before the excise duty in France, has rendered it the interest of the manufacturers to conceal the quantity produced.

"But a very large item of profit in this manufacture has been entirely omitted by Mr. Barry: It consists in the value of the cheese for feeding sheep, cattle and horses, after the saccharine juice has been expressed, and for their purpose it is nearly as valuable as before grinding. For many years, however, they were compelled to limit the manufacture to such a quantity as could be fed from day to day without becoming

sour or moldy, so that the operation was rendered tedious and expensive; and as the beet does not keep long, and from the time of harvest grows constantly less valuable, this system was exceedingly wasteful."

"Mr. Barry is manifestly not friendly to the project, or he would not have omitted in estimating the relative cost of labor in France and the United States, to mention the relative cost of lands, and relative taxation in the respective countries . . . had this view been taken, it would have appeared that the cost of production in France is greater than it can be here, at present, for many years."<sup>27</sup>

Barry ably defended himself in another letter to the editor stating that "in the first number of your valuable paper, you published a communication from me on the subject of the manufacture of sugar from the beet. That communication was written at your request, and contained, as I then supposed and still suppose, simply a statement of facts in relation to that subject. At the time of visiting the manufactories of sugar from beet in France and other parts of Europe, I took notes and made memorandums, even before leaving the establishments, of all important facts, that I learned on the subject of their operations, and I also reduced to writing interrogatories which I always had precisely prepared. From these memorandums the communication in question was prepared.—Nothing was inserted, which was not supposed to be true.

"It is possible, though not probable, that I might have been imposed upon and deceived by those engaged in the business of making sugar, of whom my inquiries were made, and from whom my information was obtained. I think, however, that such was not the fact, as the information obtained at one establishment was always in the main, of a character similar to that *obtained at another*."<sup>28</sup>

The pungent note of Barry's reply virtually ended the discussion of the merits of the sugar-beet. Reference to the possibilities of the crop are few thereafter. Instead there is a grad-

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, May 3, 1841.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, June 1, 1841.

ual emphasis upon the value of sugar groves and the maple-sugar products.<sup>29</sup>

Undoubtedly the failure of the White Pigeon company contributed to the decline of interest. The refutations of Barry, based upon data that was the result of experience, demonstrated that proponents of the beet-sugar culture were establishing estimates upon hopes. More fundamental, however, was the fact that the contemporary stages of technological development and scientific agriculture did not enable Michigan farmers to compete successfully with the sugar-cane industry. Tedious labor and patience in agricultural research ultimately helped to revive the sugar-beet industry on a profitable basis.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup>*Michigan Farmer*, February 15, 1849.

<sup>30</sup>Frank S. Kedzie, "Sugar Production in Michigan," *Michigan History Magazine*, XVI (Summer number, 1932), pp. 296-303.

## COOPER'S ISLAND FROM A BOTANIST'S VIEWPOINT

BY CLARENCE R. HANES

SCHOOLCRAFT

WHAT is often called Cooper's Island or at present just the "Island" was known to the early settlers of Kalamazoo County as the "Big Island on Prairie Ronde." This tract of timber originally contained about 300 acres and was completely surrounded by the prairies in Prairie Ronde and Schoolcraft townships. These prairies, while occupying two political divisions, are physically one and make up the largest prairie in Michigan. The "Island" itself lies in the western part of Schoolcraft Township and the eastern part of Prairie Ronde Township. The village limits of Schoolcraft touch the eastern border of the woods.

The term "island" as employed here means a body of woods surrounded by prairie. This term is of common usage in our state and in the midwest. The prairies were carpeted by species of grasses, which were the constituents of the wild hay of the pioneers. The grasses were two to four feet high and when moved by the wind, the whole mass from a distance resembled a body of water. Naturally to the early settlers these groves or woods appeared to be islands. Several of these so-called prairie grasses are still scattered throughout the county on wood borders, on roadsides and in fencerows, and on the right of ways of our railroads. The original prairie flora with the advent of the plow found refuge also in the same places as the wild grasses. In some rural cemeteries remnants of the prairie flora still persist. The prairie violet, *Viola pedatifida*, a rare species in Michigan, has been found in Harrison Cemetery in Prairie Ronde.

The name Cooper's Island is often used because James Fenimore Cooper stayed with friends for a time in Schoolcraft in a house on the east border of the "Big Island." This house is still standing and is one of the landmarks of the village. It



is known as "The House Where Cooper Lived." Cooper was here in the middle 1840's gathering material for his novel *Oak Openings*.<sup>1</sup> It was to the woods of the "Island" that Ben Boden, the beehunter and the chief character of the story, lined his bees. Most authorities believe that Cooper used Judge Bazel Harrison, the first settler in Kalamazoo County, for his characterization of Ben Boden. Cooper had property interests and relatives in Kalamazoo County.

The species of oak that Cooper had in mind in *Oak Openings* was the burr oak. Some large burr oaks are still growing on the east border of the "Island." Only a few red and white oaks are found at present. The chief varieties of trees, however, are hard maple, elm, basswood, and hackberry. The maples are the hard sugar maple and the black sugar maple, both equally good in the making of maple syrup. Maple syrup was boiled down one hundred years ago from the trees of the "Island" just as it is being made today with more modern equipment from the descendants of the early maples. Both red and white elms are present. Some of the red or slippery elms are especially large, much exceeding the dimensions given in botanies. Trees 36 to 38 inches in diameter and almost 100 feet high grow in what has always been known as the Sugarlot. The hackberry or sugarberry is frequent, often attaining great size. The sweetish berries offer a source of food to our winter bird residents and to several of the rarer feathered visitors.

A few sycamores and a group of honey locusts as well as the wild cherry may be seen. White ash and the rarer blue ash are represented. The only nut-bearing trees are the black walnut and the bitter hickory. Old residents have reported the white beech but none has been seen for more than sixty years. One of the most interesting and probably the least valuable trees of the "Island" is the papaw. This northern member of the

<sup>1</sup>See *Michigan History Magazine*, Spring issue for 1932, pp. 309-320, article by Kate Russell Oakley of Kalamazoo, "James Fenimore Cooper and Oak Openings"; also July issue, 1927, p. 475, letter from Cooper to his wife dated at Detroit, June 18, 1848; also Summer issue, 1930, p. 420, description of trip from Detroit to Kalamazoo and quotation from *Oak Openings* describing Prairie Ronde and the operations of the Moore-Haskell Harvester then recently invented.

custard-apple family grows only in the southwestern counties of Michigan. It gave name to the village of Paw Paw in Van Buren County. With us it is known as the Michigan banana. Trees 25 feet high and 9 inches in diameter are found. It is quite erratic in bearing fruit, only occasionally producing in abundance.

Maple or beech and maple forests usually have in the spring a more varied flora than oak and hickory woods. This is especially true of the "Island" where children and adults have for the past 100 years gone to pick wild flowers. Strange to say, an abundance of most of the varieties that have ever been found there still remains. Even a few trilliums are left and on the roadside traversing the woods small patches of blood-root appear each April. Pepper-and-salt, or harbinger-of-spring, or *Erigenia bulbosa* as it is scientifically called, vies with the lowly skunk cabbage as the earliest flower of spring. Dutchman's breeches and squirrel corn, spring beauties, wild phlox, blue and yellow violets, toothroot, and the beautiful blue-eyed Mary, *Collinsia verna*, are all to be seen here. May apples, two kinds of Jack-in-the-Pulpit, and the rarer green dragon, and even plants of ginseng have been found. Here grow, also, many white strawberries.

The only place in Kalamazoo County where we have seen the climbing rose, or the Michigan rose as it is called in our state, is the "Island." In some sections of the United States the white adder's tongue is the common species. With us the yellow adder's tongue is common and the white is rare. This rarer form grows in the "Island." We knew it formerly from along the Kalamazoo River but the building of the Commonwealth Power Dam has destroyed this site. One sedge, *Carex oligocarpa*, with only one other record for the state, has been collected in the Sugarlot. Many other plants that appear as the seasons advance could be named but enough have been given to show what the "Island" has meant to the people of Schoolcraft since the arrival of the first settlers.

In the midst of the forest growth of the "Big Island" lies a pond, 40 acres in extent. After several dry seasons the pond may dwindle away so that one may walk over any part of it. When the water-level is high it becomes almost a lake. Cooper must have seen the pond at high water level as he speaks of it as a lake, in a note which appears in some editions of *Oak Openings*. During 1943 and at present the water level is the highest it has been in 50 years.

When the water is high, white and yellow water lilies are abundant. Several species of pondweeds flourish as do two or more species of bladderworts. When the water is low and the pond nearly dry another group of plants begins to take possession. Each group apparently spends several years in a dormant state, or the seeds remain dormant until favorable conditions have again arisen. An interesting species at low water level is a sedge known as *Rhynchospora macrostachya*. It will grow in a foot of water but it appears to thrive best in moist or slightly wet soil. It is one of what was called Atlantic Coastal Plain plants—plants that are found mainly along the Atlantic Coastal Plain. We have about 40 of these in Kalamazoo County. In the interior of the United States this type of plant is chiefly found in a few southwestern counties of Michigan and in the counties of Indiana near the head of Lake Michigan.

In the 1870's and the early 1880's the trees on the east shore of the pond were thinly scattered and the ground was covered with a carpet of grass. During these years this space became a meeting place for church affairs and Fourth of July picnics. The spiritualists held their annual camp meetings here and on one memorable occasion the noted orator Robert G. Ingersoll spoke to a large gathering of people many of whom had come from a distance.

At present the "Island" is much smaller in size since parts of the forest have been cleared for farm land. No longer are public meetings held there. The site of these is now a corn-field. No longer do we go swimming in the pond. We did it

daily when the use of bathing suits was unknown and when the multitude of blood suckers was a matter of course. These times are gone but the trees and flowers remain and memories of its past remain and are cherished by those who were fortunate enough to have lived and grown up near the "Island."

## MAJOR PROBLEMS IN SANITATION AND HYGIENE IN MICHIGAN, 1850-1900

BY EARL E. KLEINSCHMIDT, M. D.

The State Board of Health shall have the general supervision of the interests of the health and life of this State. . . . They shall make sanitary investigations and inquiries respecting the causes of disease, . . . And the effects of localities, employments, conditions, ingesta, habits, and circumstances on the health of the people.<sup>1</sup>

FOR years prior to the establishment of the State Board of Health, physicians struggled to bring about improvements in sanitary and hygienic conditions within the state. Despite obstacles confronting them, they made progress, and in so doing paved the way for the work which the State Board of Health was to do later. Some of the major sanitary and hygienic problems facing the people of the state during the middle of the nineteenth century owe their solution to the efforts of these pioneers. Other problems had to await the enactment of the law creating the State Board of Health, before it was possible through legal means to bring about still greater reforms.

### *Sanitary Conditions of Public Buildings*

In response to a request by the State Board of Commissioners for the Supervision of Penal, Pauper, and Charitable Institutions in 1874, Prof. R. C. Kedzie of the State Board of Health investigated the sanitary condition and ventilation of the State Prison at Jackson, the Reform School at Lansing, the Detroit House of Correction, the State Public School at Coldwater, and the State Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind at Flint.<sup>2</sup> His report for the following year revealed conditions to be extremely bad.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, I, 2.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 103; MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, III, x.

At a meeting of the State Board of Health in 1879, a communication was read from the Hon. C. D. Randall of Coldwater suggesting that legal provision be made for requiring the State Board of Health to examine all sites and specifications for proposed state institutions.<sup>4</sup> According to MacClure, this communication and the reaction which followed ultimately led to the enactment of the first law for building inspection in the State. Act No. 206, Laws of 1879, required the examination of plans and specifications of all proposed state institutions by the State Board of Health.<sup>5</sup>

In 1881, Act No. 206, Laws of 1879, was amended making it necessary for the boards of all charitable, penal and reformatory institutions to supply the State Board of Health and State Board of Corrections with the plans of buildings for school purposes, living rooms, work-rooms, or sleeping rooms for inmates, or any system of sewerage, ventilation or heating which had been authorized by the legislature. The boards were requested by the law to examine and give an opinion of all such plans.<sup>6</sup>

In the years which followed, the State Board of Health made many visits to state institutions for this purpose. Reports on their activities are to be found in nearly every annual report since 1881.<sup>7</sup>

In 1881, the Board adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee on 'buildings including ventilation, heating, etc.,' be requested to report upon the construction of hospitals appropriate for State Institutions.<sup>8</sup>

*Sanitary Condition of Poor Houses, Jails, etc.*

The first step taken in the state to obtain an improvement in the sanitary conditions of poor-houses and jails appears to have been taken in 1859. At the 7th annual meeting of the State Medical Society, a committee was appointed consisting

<sup>4</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 31; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, VII, 7.

<sup>5</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 31; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, XI, xv.

<sup>6</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, X, 339; *ibid.*, XVI, 172.

<sup>7</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, XI, xxxix.

of Drs. F. Pratt of Kalamazoo, J. M. Hoyt of Genesee County, and Manly Miles of Flint to study the condition of the poor-houses and jails in the state with particular reference to their sanitary condition, and the proper separation of the sexes.<sup>9</sup> This committee was asked to report the following year, but due to the cessation of all medical journals, no further accounts are available.

Not until 1881 was the subject again discussed in the literature. In that year Act No. 226, Laws of 1879, was amended by Act No. 41 to permit the inspection of public buildings in cities and villages. It also made it unlawful to use these buildings until they had been properly inspected and approved by the local board of health. The measure further specified that the local boards of health were to call the attention of the proper officers to all violations of the law.<sup>10</sup> Apparently the objects of this act were not attained, for in 1884 the State Board of Health was requested by the Hon. Witter J. Baxter, Secretary of the State Board of Charities, to examine the sanitary condition of the various jails and public buildings in the State.<sup>11</sup> Acting on this request, committees were appointed and such examinations made in several cities. Endeavoring to interest local officials in such problems, the Board invited a prominent citizen at each place to assist in the examination. County jails examined included those of Jackson, Washtenaw, Van Buren, Barry, and Wayne counties.<sup>12</sup> In their findings the several committees making these examinations reported that offensive odors, poor ventilation, lack of hospital facilities, crowding, dirty water-closets, vermin and filthy accumulations of refuse were most common.<sup>13</sup>

#### *Care of the Insane*

A problem closely allied to the foregoing relates to the provisions which the state made for the care of the insane. Ac-

<sup>9</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, I (1859), 8; *Pen. and Ind. Med. J.*, I (1859), 703.

<sup>10</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, XI, 73.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, XII, xxxvi.

<sup>12</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, XII, 20, 29; *ibid.*, XIV, 175.



cording to Dr. William Brodie, there were in Michigan in 1850, "insane, 133; idiotic, 189."<sup>14</sup> By 1860 this number had increased to "insane, 251; idiotic, 333." Both these approximations were made by the United States census-takers.<sup>15</sup> A state census in 1854 revealed that there were "nearly 600 insane people in the State."<sup>16</sup> Despite the increase in numbers, the accounts of the period reveal that little was being done to provide for these unfortunates. In an editorial appearing in the *Peninsular and Independent Medical Journal*, Dr. Moses Gunn wrote:

The Peninsular State, with all her prosperity, with her railroads and cities . . . has permitted her insane population to seek abroad the desire of relief! For the last seven years the Legislature of Michigan has been doling out paltry appropriations for her first asylum for the insane—appropriations so paltry that the unfinished work is hardly prevented from going to a decay almost as hopeless as that of some of the intellects—which it was intended to receive. It is with shame that we record the fact, that with more or less insane inmates in almost every almshouse and jail in the state, there is not humanity enough in the Legislature of Michigan to secure the requisite provision for this unfortunate class. One hundred thousand dollars per annum should be appropriated to the asylum, until it is fully furnished and equipped for the reception of patients.<sup>17</sup>

In commenting on the semi-annual report of the Superintendent of the Poor of Wayne County for 1859, Dr. A. B. Palmer declared, "As an illustration of the necessities of the case, it may be seen of the Semi-Annual Report of the Superintendents of the Poor of Wayne County, just presented, embracing an account of those committed during the past six months, are *eighteen for Insanity!* For being insane—for being the subjects of disease, and one of the most afflictive of diseases which can befall humanity—these unfortunate beings have been cast into jail!—and such a jail! The building, they report is entirely unfit even for a prison in which to confine

<sup>14</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, IV (1870), 56.

<sup>15</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, I (1859), 5.

<sup>17</sup>*Pen. and Ind. Med. J.*, I (1858), 218.

criminals. A leaky roof causes many of the rooms to be damp and wet. Of the inmates, 'many are in want of proper clothing—some are shirtless and some are without pantaloons.' The turnkey says those that are destitute have destroyed their clothing. This is certainly a spectacle which should arrest attention, occurring in a community like ours, in this age of the world."<sup>18</sup>

Undoubtedly these editorial upbraidings had much to do with events which followed. At the annual meeting of the State Medical Society in Jan. 1859, the following resolution was offered by Dr. Foster Pratt of Kalamazoo and adopted by the Society:

Whereas, The State Census of 1854 disclosed the startling fact that there were, in our midst, nearly six hundred insane, of which number certainly three hundred and fifty were, in our opinion, proper subjects for treatment in an asylum; and

Whereas, There is not in this state as yet any provision ready for care and keeping of our insane; and

Whereas, This delay in fully finishing the Asylum at Kalamazoo is causing the insanity of many of these unfortunates to become permanent and incurable; therefore

Resolved, That in our opinion the claims of a suffering humanity, found at our doors, nay, in the bosom of our families, emphatically demand of the Legislature of this State the completion of our Insane Asylum at the earliest possible period.<sup>19</sup>

During the proceedings of this meeting, Dr. J. Adams Allen and the Secretary of the Society, Dr. E. P. Christian, were instructed to prepare a suitable memorandum for the legislature on the subject of asylums for the insane.<sup>20</sup> As the records reveal, the construction of an asylum at Kalamazoo had been under way for several years, but not until the fall of 1859 was it finally completed.<sup>21</sup> Dr. E. H. Van Deusen was chosen its first director.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, I (1858), 548.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, I (1859), 702; *Trans. M.S.M.S.*, I (1859), 6.

<sup>20</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, V (1870), 53.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, I (1859), 10.

Although in the beginning the asylum was found to be adequate for the care of a portion of the state's insane, the increasing population soon taxed it to the limit. From available accounts it is learned that in 1870 the crowded condition of the institution made it necessary for counties to continue to house in poor-houses, as before, the insane together with the poor.<sup>23</sup> At this time the asylum at Kalamazoo had a bed capacity of 288, and the state was estimated to have a population of 1200 mentally deranged.<sup>24</sup> Describing conditions in the Wayne County Poor House at that time, Dr. William Brodie said, "At that visit we found the chronic and incurable insane occupying the same apartments with the healthy poor. The sane and the insane, idiotic and imbecile males, were in the same rooms; and on the female side of the house was the same arrangement. Forty-eight persons, male and female, belonging to this class of unfortunates, were in the poor-house. Their classification could not be made from want of room. In an out-house a cell had been arranged to contain one or two of the most violent, and that only for their personal security."<sup>25</sup>

Again at the fourth annual meeting of the State Medical Society, in 1870, a resolution of Dr. Brodie's was adopted. This advocated that the legislature be requested to make further appropriations for the purpose of erecting a building at Kalamazoo to house the chronic incurable insane, so that they might be kept apart from those with milder degrees of mental derangement.<sup>26</sup> Still another resolution was adopted requesting a committee of the Society to report at the next meeting on the treatment of the insane, and the practicability and mode of managing county insane hospitals. To this committee were named Drs. J. H. Jerome, Chairman, H. S. Cheever, and H. B. Shank.<sup>27</sup>

The following year the committee made a report as follows:

1. That the State should make ample and suitable provision for all its insane.

<sup>23</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, IV (1870), 53.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, I (1870), 14, 56.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15.

2. That insane persons considered curable, and those supposed incurable, should be provided for in separate establishments.
3. That a just regard for the interests of all the insane of the State requires that these institutions be located with geographical reference to the population.<sup>28</sup>

Speaking of the practice which obtained in certain counties, of housing the insane in county insane asylums, Dr. Jerome said, "If there is one proposition connected with the interest and care of these (insane) most unfortunate ones, more conclusively settled by the united teaching of the profession and practical tests, it is the utter folly of the county system for the cure of the insane."<sup>29</sup>

By 1878, the number of insane people outside of institutions had increased to so large a number as to come to the attention of the State Medical Society. At its annual meeting that year a resolution was adopted asking the State Board of Health to warn the people of the danger of retaining insane people in their home.<sup>30</sup>

#### *State General Hospital*

At the seventh annual meeting of the State Medical Society in 1859, Dr. J. Adams Allen, in his presidential address, called attention to "the need for a general hospital to which families of persons of scanty means could go for medical care."<sup>31</sup>

A committee appointed to act on the president's address reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Society regards the establishment of a State General Hospital an object earnestly to be desired, and hereby express the hope that this enterprise may engage the attention of state authorities as one next in order after those at present in

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, V (1871), 31: Pursuant to a resolution of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, the Michigan State Medical Society at its sixth annual meeting on June 12, 1872 adopted a similar resolution calling for a course of instruction on insanity and on medical jurisprudence at all schools conferring medical degrees. (*Tr. M.S.M.S.*, 1872, 43.)

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 23: Pursuant to a resolution of the Association of Medical Superintendents of the American Institutions for the Insane, the Michigan State Medical Society at its sixth annual meeting on June 12, 1872 adopted a similar resolution calling for a course of instruction on insanity and on medical jurisprudence at all schools conferring medical degrees. (*Ibid.*, VI, 1872, 43.)

<sup>30</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, VII (1877), 261.

<sup>31</sup>*Reports*, M.S.M.S., I (1859), 30.

process of being carried out—viz., The Asylum for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, and for the Insane.<sup>32</sup>

Not until 1877, however, was the first hospital, a wooden building accommodating one hundred and fifty patients and providing an operating amphitheatre, opened at Ann Arbor.<sup>33</sup>

### *Drainage and Water Supplies*

According to MacClure, the improvement in the healthfulness of the state was brought about largely by the efforts of the State Board of Health through the labors of Dr. Henry F. Lyster.<sup>34</sup> His frequent treatises on "Draining for Health" received much attention from the people of the state. Lands that had hitherto been looked upon as worthless, to say nothing of being unhealthful, soon became of great value and suitable for habitation when surface and subsoil drainage were carried out as he suggested.<sup>35</sup>

In 1875, the State Board of Health undertook by means of a circular to obtain information relative to the water supplies in various communities of the state. The replies made by correspondents may be found in the fourth annual report. The information so obtained was expected to be of great value for the sanitary survey contemplated by the Board.<sup>36</sup>

Another role of the State Board was one of arbitration in disputes caused by the contamination of community water-supplies, which disputes often called members of the Board to various cities where they acted as consultants, and on several occasions succeeded in settling bitter quarrels between owners of slaughtering establishments and local health officials.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup>*Pen. and Ind. Med. J.*, I (1859), 702; *Reports*, M.S.M.S., I (1859), 6.

<sup>33</sup>*Burr, op. cit.*, p. 487; the surgical clinics of the Medical Department of the University of Michigan were organized in 1850; (*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, I, 1869, 19.) The surgical clinics of the Medical Department of the University of Michigan were organized in 1850. (*Proc. M.S.M.S.*, 1869, I, 19.)

<sup>34</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>35</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>36</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, III, 108; *ibid.*, IV, 85; *ibid.*, V, 145; *ibid.*, VII, xlix.

<sup>37</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 32; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, XIV, 167.

*Arsenic Poisoning*

One of the first hygienic problems confronting the State Board of Health in 1873 was concerned with the widespread use of green paint containing arsenic. According to MacClure, it was apparently a measure of economy on the part of manufacturers of wall-papers to use arsenic in coloring the paper.<sup>38</sup>

In addition, as was pointed out by Prof. Kedzie, it was found on pencils, toys, labels, cups and pumps, all of which made slow poisoning possible.<sup>39</sup> As Dr. Kedzie's investigations became better known in the state, a number of reports were received by him of a "mysterious" illness caused by sleeping in rooms having green wall-paper, and cured by removing to other rooms having paper of a different color.<sup>40</sup> In a paper published in the first annual report of the State Board of Health on "Poisonous Paper," Dr. Kedzie called attention to dangers involved in their use.<sup>41</sup> He also contributed many articles to the newspapers on the subject.<sup>42</sup>

At the request of the Board, Dr. Kedzie prepared a large number of books of specimens of poisonous wall-papers for distribution about the state. Each book contained, besides one hundred odd specimens, an article entitled, "*Shadows from the WALLS OF DEATH, or Arsenical Wall Papers.*"<sup>43</sup> These were distributed by the secretary of the Board to the leading libraries of the state.<sup>44</sup>

The activities of the Board in warning the people of the dangers involved were given wide publicity. As might be surmised, it resulted in losses to the wall-paper industry, causing the manufacturers to complain bitterly at the stand taken by the Board.<sup>45</sup> As late as 1885 Dr. Vaughan reported finding

<sup>38</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>39</sup>*Loc. cit.*; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, I, 32.

<sup>40</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>41</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, II, 55; *ibid.*, I, 63.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, II, ix.

<sup>43</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>44</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, II, xvi; *ibid.*, III, viii; Prof. Kedzie's attention was drawn to the dangers of poisoning from the use of green wall-paper by an article by Dr. F. W. Draper appearing in the annual report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health for 1872. (*Ibid.*, I, 60.)

<sup>45</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

arsenic in specimens of wall-paper suspected by the Rev. J. K. Close of Bronson, Mich., of causing illness.<sup>46</sup>

### *Inspection of Illuminating Oils*

The first law governing the inspection of illuminating oils was passed in 1869 (Act No. 128, Session Laws of 1869).<sup>47</sup> When the State Board of Health was established four years later, there was but a single test made of such oils in Michigan—that a very imperfect one. As was pointed out repeatedly by members of the Board, the law was unsuccessful because its enforcement was left to irresponsible persons, usually the employees of the Standard Oil Company.<sup>48</sup> The danger of this state of affairs caused members of the Board, particularly Dr. Kedzie, to investigate the problem most thoroughly in the years which followed.<sup>49</sup>

While Dr. Bartholomew of Lansing was still a member of the state Legislature, laboring for the establishment of a State Board of Health, he also introduced several bills for the inspection of illuminating oils.<sup>50</sup> In this work he was ably supported by the investigations and demonstrations of Prof. Kedzie. The latter's searching experiments with kerosene oils taken from all parts of the state revealed that the property, life and health of Michigan people were being jeopardized through the use of dangerous oils.<sup>51</sup> To assist Dr. Bartholomew in convincing the legislature of the law's inadequacy, Prof. Kedzie, on several occasions, set up experiments in the legislative halls and demonstrated the dangers involved in the explosive nature of ordinary kerosene oils. Several of them left on these occasions, saying they did not care to risk their lives.<sup>52</sup> As Dr. Kedzie took pains to point out, dangerous oils

<sup>46</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, XIII, xxxii.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, 4.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, lxxv; MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 15; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, IX, 172.

<sup>49</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 15; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, III, xxxii; the first article published in the annual report of the Michigan State Board of Health for 1873 was on "Illuminating Oils in Use in Michigan." This was prepared by Prof. Kedzie. (*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, VII, 6.)

<sup>50</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>52</sup>*Loc. cit.*; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, V, 70: The first article published in the annual report (first) of the State Board of Health was on "Illuminating Oils in Use in Michigan," written by Prof. R. C. Kedzie. (*An. Rpt.*, S.B.H., VII, 6.)



were branded, "Warranted to stand 175 degrees Fire Test," but on examination, most of these samples tested could not stand temperatures far below that guaranteed safe.<sup>53</sup> The law then in force permitted Ohio manufacturers to be the inspectors of their own oils. Moreover, all penalties for false inspection and false branding were removed. The people of the state of Michigan had no inspector of oils and were consequently at the mercy of the Ohio oil manufacturers.<sup>54</sup> As Dr. Kedzie on one occasion asserted before the State Board of Health, "A person carrying a lighted lamp filled with such materials, holds his death warrant in his hand, and a stumble may furnish an executioner at any moment. They should be labelled Homicide Made Easy; or Every Man His Own Executioner!"<sup>55</sup> Judging from the newspaper reports of that period this statement was entirely true.<sup>56</sup>

In September, 1875 the State Board of Health adopted and recommended the use of an oil tester designed by Prof. Kedzie. This became known thereafter as the "State Board of Health Oil-Tester." Dr. Kedzie had repeatedly demonstrated its superiority over the older Tagliabue open tester which was in common use when Dr. Kedzie began his work.<sup>57</sup>

On May 1, 1875 a law was passed as the result of the demonstrations of Prof. Kedzie, giving Michigan its first State Inspector of Oils.<sup>58</sup> Mr. A. A. Day of East Saginaw was appointed to the position.<sup>59</sup> "Upon taking hold of the work entrusted to me," Mr. Day later said, "I found the state flooded with a most villainous quality of oil. Utter disregard for the old law, coupled with a close and often violent competition, had long worked together to create such a condition. In numberless instances I found oil over the state which did not need the presence of a lamp in the instrument to cause a flash. After remaining in the closed cup a few minutes, a flash could

<sup>53</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>54</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, I, 38.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, 140.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 42; *ibid.*, VII, 7.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 87; *ibid.*, III, xl.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 87.

be obtained at the temperature of the room. This may seem incredible, but nevertheless is true. I found this oil branded 150 Degrees Fire Test,—a broad and most inhuman deception, and to me, as I looked at it, the consummation of a villainy which grew in startling proportions the longer dwelt upon.”<sup>60</sup> His work soon caused a change in conditions. In 1875, as the result of efforts of the State Board of Health, the Michigan State Board of Health Oil Tester was made the legal cup, and no oil could be sold thereafter which did not stand a flash test of 150 degrees Fahrenheit, or a burning test of 140 degrees Fahrenheit.<sup>61</sup> This ruling was of great assistance to the oil inspectors of the state.<sup>62</sup>

In 1877, Dr. Kedzie announced to the Board that he had continued his labors with the legislature, and that a law for oil inspection had been passed embodying all the good points of the old law, and providing for a standard test of 140 degrees Fahrenheit, and in addition a test for paraffine.<sup>63</sup>

Not until 1878 did Ohio finally pass a more stringent law providing for the appointment of a State Inspector of Mineral Oils. This law was passed as the result of the demonstration by the state of Michigan, the “kerosene horrors” were almost done away with following the passage of a state law providing for the inspection of illuminating oils.<sup>64</sup>

In 1879, still another law was passed in Michigan as the result of efforts by Prof. Kedzie. This law provided for a salaried officer charged with the enforcement of the law.<sup>65</sup>

Interest in the subject of illuminating oils persisted for many years. Up to 1879, so the records declare, the inspection of illuminating oils had been the subject of legislation at every biennial session of the legislature since 1869.<sup>66</sup> Despite the continuous efforts of the State Board of Health to maintain the flash-test of oils at a safe level, the accounts of that

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 89; *ibid.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>61</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>62</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, IV, xli.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, V, lxi.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, lxxv.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, lxii.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3; *ibid.*, p. 14d.

time reveal that in 1886 five explosions occurred from the use of illuminating oils in the state.<sup>67</sup>

### *Alcohol*

The State Board of Health took an active interest in the subject of alcohol on several occasions. Dr. Hitchcock's excellent annual address on the "Entailments of Alcohol" in 1874 marks the beginning of efforts to limit its consumption in the state. This masterly treatise was so well received, that copies were requested by nearly every newspaper, public library, and library association in the state.<sup>68</sup>

"Its true place is not along with the display of wealth and luxury upon the sideboard," declared Dr. A. F. Kinne, speaking before the Battle Creek Sanitary Convention, "but in the medicine chest along with hasheesh, henbane, opium, stramonium, and soforth, labeled as a Poison."<sup>69</sup> On this point the Women's Christian Temperance Union was a bit dubious. In 1880, this organization sent a communication to the State Medical Society asking whether the prescription of alcoholic liquors was a therapeutic necessity.<sup>70</sup> Although at first reluctant to give an answer, a committee from the Society finally replied, "The cause of temperance cannot be promoted by ignoring or denying the often proved and constantly recurring benefits obtained from the use of alcoholic liquors as a therapeutic agent."<sup>71</sup>

In 1887, following a discussion of the impurities and adulteration of alcoholic liquors, the State Board of Health appointed a committee to report upon the physiologic and pathologic action of alcoholic liquors upon the consumers of these as beverages, and an estimate of the quantity consumed as beverages in the state. To this committee were appointed Drs. Lyster, Hazlewood, and Vaughan.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, XIV, 196.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, II, viii.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, IX, 134.

<sup>70</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, VII, 482.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, VIII, 32.

<sup>72</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, XV, xlv.

*Public Safety*

*Accidents.*—As has already been pointed out, many accidents were caused by lamp explosions resulting from the use of dangerous illuminating oils. While efforts were being made to improve the quality of these oils and also secure satisfactory legislation for their regulation, the State Board of Health kept close watch over this problem, collecting facts concerning every lamp explosion in the state attributed to the use of kerosene oil.<sup>73</sup>

Because of the frequent occurrences of accidents on railroads and aboard ships traveling on the lakes, Dr. Kedzie, as chairman of the Committee on Accidents and Special Sources of Danger to Life and Health, memorialized the Constitutional Commission of the State Legislature in 1873 to include in the law "some safe-guard for the lives and persons of our citizens when traveling on railroads, steam-boats, and other public carriers."<sup>74</sup> One year later the Committee on Legislation of the State Board of Health petitioned the governor and legislature to devise measures for holding road employees accountable for such neglect of duty as "endangered the life or safety of persons."<sup>75</sup> As far as it is possible to ascertain from a study of legal documents of this period, no action was ever taken by the legislature in response to these requests.

In 1876, the Board undertook to educate the public relative to the need for proper fire escapes from Buildings. Dr. Kedzie, as chairman of the Committee on Buildings, Public and Private, pointed out on several occasions at meetings of the Board, that most of the public halls, churches, and school-houses had no means for permitting people to escape quickly in case of sudden alarm of fire.<sup>76</sup> Legislation which resulted from activities of members of the Board finally corrected this situation.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, XVI, 196.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, II, x.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, II, x.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, 17.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, p. ix.

Poisoning in consequence of misplaced bottles and improper labels in drugstores was discussed by the Board at a meeting in 1877. This followed a report made by Prof. Kedzie on "Labeling Medicines."<sup>78</sup>

In 1883, the Board was partially responsible for the passage of an act (Act No. 138, laws of 1883) to prevent the sale and use of toy pistols.<sup>79</sup>

A circular on the "Dangers of Gasoline" was distributed over the state in 1887. This contained rules for its use and care.<sup>80</sup>

*Adulteration of Foods.*—In 1874, following the receipt of many complaints of illness caused by the ingestion of table-syrup by people in various communities in the southern part of the state, Prof. Kedzie analyzed several samples and found that the majority were adulterated and contained such substances as sulphuric acid, sulphate of iron, and sulphosaccharate of lime in considerable quantities.<sup>81</sup>

His interest in foods led him to rather humorous utterances. One of the more interesting was made during the course of his annual address in 1878. "What the people need," he remarked, "is not a cook-book, calcimined with French names, till a plain man after ordering a dish is in doubt whether he shall receive a boiled egg or a pickled frog. I think our food would digest just as well, if it was eaten in English."<sup>82</sup>

*Opium-Eaters*—A request in 1878 by Dr. Orville Marshall of North Lansing for information concerning the number of opium-eaters in the state found the State Board of Health without an answer.<sup>83</sup> At Dr. Baker's suggestion, Dr. Marshall sent out circulars to physicians and druggists in the state to ascertain the extent of the problem. Ninety-six replies were received. From these it was learned that there was a total of

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, xlix.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, XI, 73.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, XVI, 201; *ibid.*, XVI, xxxix; *ibid.*, XVI, 197.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 35.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, 8.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 63.

1,313 opium-eaters in the state, excluding those in the cities of Detroit, Grand Rapids, and East Saginaw.<sup>84</sup>

"Pain-killers" as they were called, were used extensively according to Prof. Albert B. Prescott. In an address on the subject of "Nostrums in Their Relations to the Public Health," he called attention to one which at the time caused considerable notoriety—"One that was sold at a dollar for a four-ounce bottle, by a Chinese doctor, who had studied many years in the Celestial Kingdom, and who visited the towns of Michigan in a gorgeous car drawn by four horses, with a company of musicians and a lecturer, consisted of camphor spirit, lavender compound spirit, ammonia water, sassafras oil, and alcohol."<sup>85</sup>

*Resuscitation of the Drowned.*—The attention of the State Board of Health was frequently called to drownings and deaths from suffocation. According to records of that period, a total of 380 people lost their lives in the years 1869 to 1872 by drowning alone.<sup>86</sup> Dr. Baker was the first to call the attention of the Board to the seriousness of the situation.<sup>87</sup> On his suggestion, "Rules and Regulations for the Resuscitation of the Drowned" were drawn by Prof. Kedzie and distributed in leaflet form and as well posters.<sup>88</sup> In preparing this set of rules, Drs. Kedzie and Baker were assisted by Dr. J. H. Beech of Coldwater, who years before had published a set of rules in the *Detroit Review of Medicine and Pharmacy*. As he explained it, the rules resulted from the experience of watching an Erie canal-boat captain resuscitate a drowned man by rolling him on a barrel.<sup>89</sup> MacClure states that the rules as finally drawn up by the Board were patterned after those already in use by the Life-Saving Society of New York, which, it is said, were devised by Dr. Benjamin Howard.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, 67.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, IX, 153.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, II, xvii.

<sup>87</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, II, 91.

<sup>89</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 17; "The Proper Method of Using a Barrel in Resuscitating Persons Asphyxiated by Drowning Illustrated by a Case." By J. H. Beech, M.D. (*Det. Rev. Med. and Pharm.*, V, (1870), 173.)

<sup>90</sup>*Loc. cit.*

These documents were in great demand.<sup>91</sup> Consequently, they were sent to all chiefs of police and to all school directors and teachers of the state.<sup>92</sup> 10,000 copies were distributed in 1874;<sup>93</sup> 25,000 in 1875;<sup>94</sup> and 55,000 in 1876. From available accounts it is learned that many lives were saved as the result of following the rules advocated by the Board.<sup>95</sup>

### *School Hygiene*

Many accounts are found in the older literature which call attention to the dangers of school attendance.<sup>96</sup> School architecture, ventilation, and lighting were often criticized by both sanitarians and educators as being unhealthful.<sup>97</sup> Most of the available literature, it is interesting to note, follows an investigation of schools made by Prof. Kedzie in 1873.<sup>98</sup>

In his report to the State Medical Society in 1873 on "Hygiene as applied to the Construction, Warming, Ventilation, and Sewerage of School Buildings," Prof. Kedzie asserted that lofty school buildings, then very common, were detrimental to the health of girls. It was his opinion that frequent climbing of stairs caused much unnecessary suffering as a result of premature descent of the uterus.<sup>99</sup>

Commenting on sewerage systems found in schools during his visits, he said, "In the majority of schools, sewerage has no existence; simply out-houses and vaults. . . Even in stinging cold weather their condition was execrable. If they could have found a voice they might have exclaimed, with the unhappy King of Denmark—

Oh! my offense is rank  
It smells to heaven!"<sup>100</sup>

<sup>91</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, III, xvii.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, x; *ibid.*, IV, xxxiii.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, III, ix.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, xb.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xxiii; MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>96</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, II, 85; *Det. Rev. Med. and Pharm.*, IX (1874), 521; *Trans. M.S.M.S.*, IV (1873), 67; *An. Rep. S.B.H.*, X, 198.

<sup>97</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, X, 217.

<sup>98</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>99</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, I, 65; *Trans. M.S.M.S.*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>100</sup>*Trans. M.S.M.S.*, *op. cit.*, 96.



Following Professor Kedzie's investigations, the subject of school hygiene assumed considerable importance. Sanitarians and educators alike gave the subject much attention. "It certainly is true," said the Rev. M. W. Fairfield of Muskegon, "and the statement will hardly be questioned that the health of pupils in our high schools is not, on the average, up to the standard of former years. . . Various diseases have multiplied among advanced pupils. Some of these diseases can easily be traced, certainly in their various forms, to the schools as at present conducted."<sup>101</sup> Mr. E. P. Church, superintendent of schools at Greenville, laid the blame to poor ventilation, poor floors, poor lighting conditions, and poor condition of water-closets.<sup>102</sup>

Others, particularly Prof. M. T. Gass, superintendent of schools at Flint, and Prof. W. S. Perry of Ann Arbor, were less inclined to accept the warnings of sanitarians. Said Prof. Gass, "I cannot believe otherwise than that school work by the regular habits it induces, by the mental stimulus it affords, and the love of knowledge it inspires, tells favorably upon the physical health of children; that the evils of school life are accidental rather than necessary; and that attendance upon our schools under favorable physical conditions promoted health and longevity."<sup>103</sup> In an address on "The Hygiene of Study," Prof. Perry expressed similar doubts of the harmful influence of school life on the health of pupils.<sup>104</sup>

Other dangers pointed to by sanitarians were poor ventilation and improper warming of school rooms. Vitiating air in particular was looked upon as an omnipresent evil.<sup>105</sup> In his studies of the atmosphere of school buildings, Prof. Kedzie made many analyses of the carbon-dioxide content of the air. "The limit of impurity in air as affected by respiration, should not exceed the present of eight parts of carbonic acid in 10,000 of air," he said. . . "persons may and do live in such an at-

<sup>101</sup>*An. Rep. S.B.H.*, X, 198.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, IX, 83.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, X, 100.

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*, XV, xv.

mosphere, but it is at the expense of present and future health."<sup>106</sup> Speaking with particular reference to the heating of schoolrooms, he said, "A poorly warmed schoolroom defeats the very object for which a school exists, by preventing all mental activity except grumbling, which needs no special culture."<sup>107</sup>

Among the several interesting inquiries made of hygienic problems resulting from school life are those of the Rev. J. S. Goodman of the State Board of Health, and that of Dr. W. B. Breakey of Ann Arbor. As Chairman of the Committee on School Hygiene of the State Board of Health, the Rev. Goodman was asked to make an investigation into the sanitary condition of the schools of the state in 1875, and to incur expenses not to exceed one hundred dollars.<sup>108</sup> Illness, however, prevented him from carrying out so extensive a survey.<sup>109</sup> He did, however, conduct a questionnaire study among members of the Saginaw and Bay County Medical Societies, the results of which were widely publicized. The following questions were asked:

1. Is one sex more liable than the other to suffer in health from attendance on school?

To this, in both societies, an affirmative answer was unanimously given to the effect that girls are more liable than boys.

2. What can you from your own observation say of the effects of stair climbing on girls from twelve to sixteen years of age?

All denounce the practice, though some of the younger members of the profession have had no case of disease clearly traceable to this custom. One of the oldest practitioners stated that he had had at least thirty cases of uterine difficulty which could be traced. Another stated that in a village where he had been for years a member of the school board, stair climbing had destroyed the health of quite a number of female teachers.

3. What opinion does your experience lead you to entertain in regard to study out of school in addition to ordinary school attendance?

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 81.

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, IX, xb.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, xiii.

In answer to this question, the general sentiment was decidedly adverse. One physician spoke of two cases of St. Vitus dance, treated by himself, and clearly traceable to over-study at school and at home.

4. Where are the injurious effects of school attendance most likely to develop themselves?

In the weakest part of the system—particularly the nervous.

5. Has over-study at school a tendency to promote consumption?

Opinions were somewhat divided. The majority inclined to give an affirmative answer.<sup>110</sup>

In preparation for a paper to be given at the sanitary convention at Ann Arbor in 1882, Dr. Breakey sent a lengthy questionnaire on school health to about one hundred each of superintendents, teachers, educators and prominent physicians in the state and country. The results constitute a valuable chapter in school hygiene. The entire paper is to be found in the tenth annual report of the State Board of Health.<sup>111</sup>

### *Physiology and Hygiene*

One of the petitions sent to the legislature in 1873 by the State Medical Society, which helped immeasurably to arouse sentiment in favor of a State Board of Health, reads as follows:

Whereas, It is uniformly the testimony of those best qualified to form correct opinion on this subject, that in every year hundreds and even thousands of persons in the state lose their lives, and that many others suffer severe losses in health, happiness, time, and money, from causes which might be removed, and these deaths and losses thus prevented, if the knowledge on this subject now possessed by the teachers of hygiene could be brought to bear directly upon the ordinary affairs of life;

And Whereas, It is believed that a sufficient number of prominent teachers and others well skilled in the knowledge of public health, will undertake to accomplish this, and give their knowledge and services free towards preventing in some degree this great waste of human life and unnecessary suffering and expense, if only the means be placed at their disposal to render their efforts useful to the people, etc. . . .<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 76.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, X, 63.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, II, vii.

Long after the establishment of the Board, the objects incorporated in this resolution were foremost in the minds of its members. Although judged impractical by his colleagues in the field of education, Dr. Baker in 1873 went so far as to suggest that practicing physicians be engaged to act as lecturers and instructors in hygiene in the public schools, which would compensate them for the loss of income incurred by reducing the prevalence of contagious disease.<sup>113</sup> "It will do much towards the achievement of so desirable conditions, thoroughly to educate all children in our schools in respect to the structure and function of their own bodies, and the laws of hygiene," said Dr. Homer O. Hitchcock, president of the Board in 1875.<sup>114</sup>

In 1878, Professor Kedzie brought to the attention of the Board that they had failed to comply with the law, stating, "They shall from time to time recommend standard works on the subject of hygiene for the use of the schools of the state."<sup>115</sup> At his suggestion there was formed to study the matter a committee to which he and Dr. Baker were appointed. At the next regular meeting they stated that they had found "no suitable book." One of the members suggested that such a book be prepared by members of the Board,<sup>116</sup> but the reports studied fail to reveal that any such action was ever taken.

Again in 1882, the Hon. LeRoy Parker, at that time president of the Board, voiced the hope that the Board would see fit to select a textbook on hygiene for use in the public schools.<sup>117</sup> More successful, this plea was followed very shortly by the passage of an act in the legislature. An amendment to Section 15, Chapter III, of Act No. 164, Laws of 1881, required that provision be made for the instruction of all pupils in physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks, stimulants and narcotics. It further specified that all textbooks used in the public schools for this pur-

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 15.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 6.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, 8.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, lix.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*, X, 357.

pose have the joint approval of the State Board of Health and the State Department of Public Instruction.<sup>118</sup> Thereafter, the sources reveal that the Board spent considerable time at its regular meetings discussing the various textbooks available for this purpose.<sup>119</sup>

Members of the Board were very much interested in problems of ventilation, as has already been pointed out. In his travels about the state, Professor Kedzie became particularly interested in the ventilation of railway coaches. "Several years ago," he said, describing conditions prevalent at that time, "I rode in a car from Detroit to Ypsilanti. The weather was very cold, and every window was closed. The car was crowded, every seat full, and many passengers stood in the aisle. The air became so foul that the candles "burned blue"; the candle in the rear end of the car was extinguished twice before we reached Ypsilanti, and the candle near the middle of the car went out once in the same distance. When the train stopped and the doors were opened for a few minutes, the candles burned more and more dimly till some of them were extinguished."<sup>120</sup> As a result of his interest in the problem, he wrote an extensive paper on "Ventilation of Railroad Cars" in which he described two methods of his own design for the improvement of circulation in railway coaches.<sup>121</sup>

Another problem associated with the railroads of the state came up for discussion by the Board in 1878. Speaking of conditions in Coldwater, particularly, Dr. J. H. Beech took occasion in a communication to the Board to point out the filthy condition of privies in Michigan railway stations.<sup>122</sup> As a consequence of this letter, Dr. H. O. Hitchcock later prepared a lengthy article on "Privies and Water Closets at Railway Stations." This was widely circulated by officials of the railroads, and, so the records point out, much good was accomplished.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, XII, 53.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xxxvi; *ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, XIII, xxxii; *ibid.*, XVI, xii.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, 133.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xxv; *ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, 17; *ibid.*, VI, lvi.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, 18.

*Examinations in Sanitary Science*

At a meeting of the State Board of Health on Oct. 8, 1878, the following resolution was offered by Dr. H. F. Lyster:

That the Board organize itself into an examining college, and institute an annual examination of candidates in subjects relating to public health.<sup>124</sup>

This was heartily approved by those in attendance, and Dr. Lyster was asked to present a plan and a list of suitable questions for such an examination.<sup>125</sup> As finally agreed upon, the plan called for an annual examination in Lansing to be conducted by the Secretary. Sixty-six questions were asked of the examinees pertaining to 1. Biology, 2. The Nature, Causation, and Prevention of Disease, 3. The Physical Sciences, 4. Sanitary Engineering, Apparatus, and Appliances, 5. Sanitary Inspection, and 6. Sanitary Law.<sup>126</sup>

The first of these examinations was conducted on July 14, 1880. Drs. Melle Veenboer of Grand Rapids and Henry B. Baker of Lansing were declared to be successful and given a certificate in recognition of their achievement.

In the years which followed, these examinations were given scant attention by the health officers of the state. As MacClure points out, this inaction was due to the fact that the laws did not require them to fulfill any requirements in hygiene and sanitation.<sup>127</sup> "But someday this plan should be resumed," declares MacClure, "and a law enacted which will require that health officers shall be fully qualified to perform the duties required by law."<sup>128</sup>

*Transportation of Corpses*

This problem came up for considerable discussion by the Board in 1885.<sup>129</sup> According to MacClure, the movement in Michigan for proper transportation of the bodies of persons

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xlv.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, p. lli.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, 273; *ibid.*, VII, lvi; *ibid.*, IX, 252.

<sup>127</sup>MacClure, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>128</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35.

who had died of communicable diseases was the first of its kind in the country.<sup>130</sup> The Board's attention was originally called to the subject as a result of a diphtheria epidemic in Ypsilanti resulting from a diphtheria corpse being brought to that city. The matter was also called to the attention of officials of the Michigan Central Railroad.<sup>131</sup>

At a meeting subsequently called by Dr. Baker with the representatives of the American Association of General Baggage Agents, rules were formulated which later became the rules for the National Association of General Baggage Agents.<sup>132</sup> Another meeting was called shortly thereafter with representatives of the Michigan Funeral Directors' Association, and a resolution adopted approving of the transportation of bodies dead from communicable diseases in hermetically-sealed caskets.<sup>133</sup>

### *Cemeteries*

To an inquiry concerning the relation of cemeteries to the public health, which was addressed in 1882 by Dr. Baker to about twenty sanitarians and physicians in the state, the majority replied that they regarded them as detrimental.<sup>134</sup> "Certainly," said Dr. O. W. Wight, health officer of Detroit, "the universal judgment of sanitarians is that cemeteries should not be located within an area already populated or likely to be populated in the future."<sup>135</sup>

### *National Board of Health*

The Michigan State Board of Health played a major role in the establishment of the National Board of Health, so available sources reveal. At the suggestion of its members, the Hon. Jonas H. MacGowan, representative from Michigan, introduced the original bill for its establishment into Congress; and because of his persistence, the National Board of Health

<sup>130</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>131</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>132</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>133</sup>*Ann. Rep. S.B.H.*, XIV, xxxiv.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*, XII, xlv.

<sup>135</sup>*Loc. cit.*



owes its origin.<sup>136</sup> This fact was publicly acknowledged by Dr. John Billings, Surgeon-General of the Army in 1880 when he visited Detroit on the occasion of the first sanitary convention.<sup>137</sup> At the suggestion of Dr. Baker, the Board tendered the following resolution to Mr. MacGowan for his efforts in behalf of a National Board of Health:

Resolved, That this State Board of Health tenders to Hon. Jonas H. MacGowan, member of Congress from Michigan, a hearty vote of thanks for his labors for the promotion of the public health, in presenting and advocating in Congress the bill which is now a law establishing a National Board of Health.<sup>138</sup>

In October, 1879, the State Board of Health received a circular from the office of the newly created National Board of Health requesting that the Board present its views on a national health service.<sup>139</sup> The Board subsequently prepared such a plan and recommended it to the National Board of Health for adoption.<sup>140</sup>

### *Personal Hygiene*

*Exercise.*—Dr. John H. Kellogg was requested by the State Board of Health in 1882 to prepare a paper on the "Need for Exercise and Best Methods for Exercise."<sup>141</sup>

*Bathing Habits.*—In 1877, the Board sent a circular to the correspondents of the Board to obtain information relative to the bathing habits of the people, and to ascertain the value placed upon the habit by the medical profession.<sup>142</sup> In his reply, Dr. J. H. Kellogg of Battle Creek wrote, "I am satisfied that there is great neglect. I have met with several persons who seemed very much surprised when I recommended a warm bath, although such application was eminently proper for cleanliness. In one case a patient who had been a laboring man the most of his life declared that not a drop of water

<sup>136</sup>*Ibid.*, VIII, 72.

<sup>137</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>138</sup>*Ibid.*, VII, xlix.

<sup>139</sup>*Ibid.*, VIII, xxxviii; *ibid.*, VII, lili.

<sup>140</sup>*Ibid.*, VIII, xl.

<sup>141</sup>*Ibid.*, XI, xxx.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*, V, 119.

had touched his back for forty years. Another man, upwards of fifty years of age, stated that he had never taken a bath in his life. It is a general custom with quite a portion of this community to take a bath regularly at least once a week; many bathe more frequently during the warm weather."<sup>143</sup> The warden of Jackson prison wrote, "Our bathing facilities are so limited and inconvenient that we can say but little of the matter at present. Bathing is, however, considered of so much importance by us that we are preparing an admirable bathing room for use of convicts, which we shall get in operation in October."<sup>144</sup> The majority of the replies indicated that "the people bathed about once a week."<sup>145</sup>

*Ocular Hygiene.*—Dr. Eugene Smith read a paper on "Ocular Hygiene" at the annual meeting of the State Medical Society in 1876.<sup>146</sup>

*Dental Hygiene.*—At the request of the State Board of Health, Dr. James Farnsworth of Detroit prepared an article on "The Teeth and the Best Means for Their Preservation." This was published in the sixth annual report.<sup>147</sup>

*Mental Hygiene.*—At the suggestion of Dr. Arthur Hazlewood, Committee on Mental Hygiene, the State Board of Health invited Dr. E. H. Van Deusen, Director of the insane asylum at Kalamazoo, to prepare a paper on the subject of mental hygiene.<sup>148</sup> A search of available literature, however, fails to indicate that the request was complied with.

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*, V, 121.

<sup>144</sup>*Ibid.*, V, 126.

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*, V, 120.

<sup>146</sup>*Trans.*, M.S.M.S., VII (1876), 474.

<sup>147</sup>*An. Rep.*, S.B.H., VI, 93; *ibid.*, VII, xlv.

<sup>148</sup>*Ibid.*, XIII, xxx.

## THE SUPREME COURT WRITES SOME HISTORY

BY JAMES K. JAMISON

ONTONAGON

River du Mort  
Lake Superior  
May 30, 1846

This may certify that in consideration of the services rendered by Marji Gesick, a Chippewa Indian, in hunting ores of location No. 593, of the Jackson Mining Company, that he is entitled to twelve undivided thirty-one hundredths parts of the interest of said mining company in said location No. 593.

F. W. Kirtland  
Secretary

A.V. Berry  
President

**T**HIS certificate found its way into the Michigan State Supreme Court three times before the century closed; it was the basis of one of the strangest opinions written by a justice of that court; and it brought those two titans of the law, Cooley and Campbell, into direct and forceful disagreement.

During the late winter of 1845 a group of Jackson, Michigan, business men met frequently and laid plans. These conferences culminated in the dispatch of a small party of the associates to Lake Superior that spring for the purpose of discovering an iron mine.

When you consider that the year was 1845; that the exploring party went from Jackson to Detroit, thence up Lake Huron to Sault Ste. Marie; that they unloaded there and waited for one of the few sailing vessels on Lake Superior; that they were set ashore in a complete wilderness not yet surveyed; that none of the party knew where or how to look for iron deposits—when you consider all these difficulties only to learn that they were almost immediately successful, then you are bound to regard it as an extraordinarily good job of exploring.

You sit around the stove in Jackson in the winter of 1845, decide to run up to Lake Superior after navigation opens next summer, and find yourself an iron mine that will make you rich. You've done it by mid-summer and are on your way home! There must be a joker in it somewhere.

There was a joker all right enough!

While they were waiting for a boat at Sault Ste. Marie, they met one Louis Nolan, a half-breed, and engaged him to go with them to search for their iron mine. Nolan knew a little more about the job than any one of the exploring party, but he didn't know very much at that. After some purposeless wandering about in the wilderness, Nolan remembered. "I tell you what you do", Nolan said in effect. "You go over to Keweenaw Bay and there you will find an Indian by the name of Marji Gesick. He will show you where the iron is."

They went to Keweenaw Bay. They found Marji Gesick. Mr. Everett, leader of the party, put the proposition. Marji Gesick was willing. And he led them straight to a large deposit of iron, in fact a whole mountain of it. It was near Teal Lake in territory now a part of Marquette County. Their eyes were big at the sight of it, and their hearts pounded in excitement. They arranged for legal location under permit of the government as the practice then required. They hustled home to Jackson.

So they made a paper writing for Marji Gesick, gave him a suit of clothes and sent him home. The paper writing gave Mr. Marji Gesick the infinitesimal fraction of twelve thirty-one hundredths interest in what was really his own discovery but which he was willing to discover unto them.

By 1883 the company had paid dividends amounting to 1740 per cent of the capital stock. Through a succession of corporate reorganizations the company is still operating in 1944. What the dividends would amount to in the near-century since the discovery may well be astronomical.

Well, Marji Gesick, all dressed up in his new suit of clothes, took his paper writing and put it in a little wooden box he

kept for charms and trinkets, his aboriginal safety-box in the wilderness. There it reposed until he died. There his family found it under informal Indian surrogate.

Now, speaking of the "family" of Marji Gesick brings us inevitably to the words "legacy" and "legatee". Assuming the "demise", it becomes important to investigate this Indian's "family". That is exactly what the State Supreme Court did and it was upon that question that Cooley and Campbell clashed in strongly worded opinions.

We come now to *Jeremy Compo v. Jackson Iron Company* (49 Michigan 39). The case was decided at the June term of 1882. It was on a bill to establish equitable ownership and for an accounting, and it came up from the Marquette circuit where Judge Grant had dismissed the bill on demurrer. The complainant Compo appealed. The Supreme Court reversed the Circuit Court and the case was remanded to the Circuit for the Jackson Iron Company's answer.

Who was Jeremy Compo? He was the assignee of the right, title and interest of Charlotte Kobogum. We have no further interest in his identity. The identity of Charlotte Kobogum is vastly different for she was the daughter of Marji Gesick. She had married one Charles Kobogum, a full blood Chippewa like herself. Under what circumstances she assigned her rights to Jeremy Compo is of no particular importance here.

So the case went back to the Marquette Circuit for the company's answer. The answer was taken and now Judge Grant of the Marquette Circuit rendered a verdict for the complainant. In effect the Circuit Court said that Marji Gesick's interest in the company's property was twelve thirty-one hundredths, that Jeremy Compo legally owned that interest, that the Jackson Iron Company must grant him that interest and account to him for all the earnings of that interest from 1846, a period of some thirty-six years.

Of course, the Jackson Iron Company now appealed. That brings us to *Jeremy Compo v. Jackson Iron Company* (50 Michigan 578), June term of 1883, just one year after the orig-

inal decision. Now Cooley asserted himself. Only three justices took part in the decision. Graves concurred with Cooley. Campbell wrote a dissenting opinion that was later to prevail, as we shall see.

It is necessary here to explain that the Jackson Iron Company was originally an unincorporated joint stock association managed by five trustees including the president and secretary. The interests were divided into 3100 shares of which 500 were treated as paid-in-full and non-assessable. These 500 paid-up non-assessable shares were to be sold for funds to be used by the association. The remaining 2600 shares were privately owned and were assessable. This was the organization to which Marji Gesick rendered his services. He showed the exploring party the iron in 1845. The following summer (1846) the association sent its president and secretary to Lake Superior, giving them power of attorney signed by two trustees other than themselves. It was under such power that the president and secretary, making four of the five trustees, gave the certificate to Marji Gesick for his services of the previous summer. In 1848 the association obtained an act of incorporation from the legislature. At a meeting in Jackson of the members of the association the question of accepting the charter of incorporation was deliberated, and in these deliberations, preliminary to formal incorporation, the rights of Marji Gesick were discussed and expressly recognized, the officers being directed to provide for the equivalent in character of the unassessable stock of the new corporation. Thus in 1848 the Jackson Iron Company passed over from the old joint stock association to the new corporate entity.

In the Supreme Court in 1883, Cooley was contemptuous of the whole case of the complainant. He wrote: "The services of Marji Gesick were rendered in 1845. The defendant corporation was organized in 1848, and Marji Gesick then became entitled to his share in stock, if ever. He lived for ten years or more after that and is not known to have made a claim. Charlotte Kobogum, as heir, made a claim in 1864 and put

her interest in the hands of a lawyer who presented her claim to the president of the company by whom it was repudiated. Nothing further was done about it until 1871 when claim was again made through a lawyer, but without result. Eight years later complainant (Compo) acquired his assignment. This was thirty years after the right of Marji Gesick accrued, and fifteen years after it had been distinctly repudiated. This is a speculative claim, bought up and sued when the generation living when it accrued had passed away. Its validity depends upon an inquiry into the domestic relations of individual Indians who seem to have lived together almost as promiscuously as the beasts, and a determination of the question which temporary arrangement was most legitimate according to savage customs. It would be bad enough to be compelled to make such a determination coterminously with the facts, but to be required to enter upon it thirty years or so afterward can only be justified by a necessity for protection of legal rights or plain equities".

That was Cooley's opinion but it was not Campbell's. Cooley prevailed in 1883 but in October, 1889, the case was back in the Supreme Court for the third time and Cooley was not on the Court. Campbell's dissenting opinion of 1883 became in all essentials the unanimous opinion of the Court in 1889.

There are three points in the Cooley opinion: (1) the claim was "speculative, bought up and sued"; (2) lapse of time obliterated Marji Gesick's rights, if any; (3) Charlotte cannot be recognized as a legitimate child of Marji Gesick since he had two wives and was divorced from neither ("lived together almost as promiscuously as the beasts").

By 1889, to meet Cooley's first point, Jeremy Compo had reassigned Charlotte's interest and suit was brought in her own name coupled with that of the only two other living descendants of Marji Gesick, sprung from the union with the woman who was not Charlotte's mother. Judge Grant of the Marquette Circuit and who had heard the two prior suits was a justice of the Supreme Court of 1889. The third time the



case came up to the high court it was Charlotte Kobogum et al v. Jackson Iron Company (76 Michigan 578). It was on a bill to declare the complainant's rights, to secure a deed to the same, and for other relief. The Circuit Court found for the complainant and the defendant corporation appealed. The Supreme Court said, through Campbell: "We think the complainants are the lawful holders of Marji Gesick's interest and that the decree should be affirmed".

How did Campbell arrive at that opinion?

If we take what he wrote in all three cases over a period of six years (1883-1889), we construct the complete answer to Cooley's rather contemptuous dismissal of the case.

Had so much time elapsed as to obliterate Charlotte's claim? Was Charlotte illegitimate and hence without legality as an heir of Marji Gesick? Campbell gave an emphatic "no" to both questions.

Consider the element of time. After Marji Gesick died and the paper writing was found in his treasure box, Charlotte took it to the same Mr. Everett, now living at Marquette and not in the employ of the Jackson Iron Company, who had gone to Keweenaw Bay as leader of the original exploring company to engage the services of Marji Gesick. Charlotte took the paper to Mr. Everett in 1864. Everett knew all the facts at first hand and he believed completely in the justice of Charlotte's claim. He went, taking the paper writing with him, to the office of the company in New York City. There he showed it to one Stewart, president of the corporation, and proved by the company's own records the legality of Marji Gesick's ownership. But Stewart, acting on his own initiative, and never bringing the claim to the attention of the board of directors or the corporation, began a long and intermittent negotiation "to get the paper writing for such a sum as he might offer for it". Campbell thought that whether Stewart represented the corporation or not, there was not then at least any corporate repudiation of the claim. Stewart did not get the writing.

In 1871, one Attorney Mapes, made another effort in behalf of Charlotte, and this came to nothing.

Campbell thought that if there ever was any repudiation of the claim, it was in 1877 when the original charter granted by the legislature in 1848 was about to expire and a new organization was effected at which time the claim was ignored, purposely or otherwise. From then on, Campbell thought it could not be seriously contended that there had been any such laches as ought to interfere with equitable relief. Charlotte's rights were put in litigation almost immediately, and first reached the high court in 1882. The other complainants were both infants in 1882 if, indeed, one of them was yet born. "Lapse of time alone will not necessarily operate as a disseizin in law or equity. The bill does not indicate any considerable delay since the company gave up negotiating and denied her rights. After they had got the benefit of Marji Gesick's services, some, and perhaps several, parties were displeased with the arrangements to pay him. If they were, they should be ashamed of it. If he had been a white man, no one would have regarded him as entitled to such a small share which no white guide ever would have accepted. It is certain that he held on to it and that there was an idea in the family that they had some interest in the iron mine. He was never asked to give it up, and he never gave it up. I can find nothing which would justify any court in holding that he had lost his right by laches. He remained in the country not far from the mining district and was well known to the persons in charge of the mining concern. There is no evidence to show that any attempt was made to settle with him. It is hardly to be supposed that a wild Indian whose dealings with the government were not affected by delays or lapse of time would expect to be held to diligence in looking after rights that had not been disputed. To what extent, if any, has the delay of Charlotte prejudiced her rights? When her rights accrued she was a married woman belonging to an Indian tribe, entirely uneducated and ignorant of the laws of Michigan and of business. She went to Mr. Everett who was

the agent who first dealt with Marji Gesick, and who knew of her equities. He brought her claim to the attention of the officers of the company in New York and showed them the evidence of their own records of its validity. This was in 1865 when the mine was paying large dividends and had no need for further calls of assessment. On the contrary, there was on hand a considerable amount of money which should have been credited to this interest. She brought no suit but employed lawyers in 1869, 1870 and 1871 to press her claim. No officer qualified to handle business of this nature ever lived at Marquette, and anyone desiring to negotiate such business would have to go to Cleveland or New York".

Was Charlotte illegitimate and therefore without legality as an heir of Marji Gesick?

Campbell said: "The daughter, Charlotte, is of unmixed Indian blood and was, when her father died, and appears to have continued, a member of the tribe. It appears distinctly that the mother of Charlotte was married to Marji Gesick and lived with him and that he recognized Charlotte as his daughter. He had a previous wife living when he married Charlotte's mother and it is claimed by the defense that all Indian marriages were invalid, being subject to summary divorce, and at any rate a second marriage during the first must be void and the offspring illegitimate. If the Indian tribes were governed by the laws of the state, it would be true; but the Indian tribes did not derive their right to occupy the country from the state. They were recognized by the United States as tribes capable of making treaties and of regulating their own internal affairs. In the absence of any determination by the United States by treaty or otherwise, they have as complete power to determine their own domestic relations as any other organized community would have, and those who were recognized by Indian usage as married persons must be so regarded by us, and the children of such marriages cannot be deemed illegitimate without violating every principle of justice. United States treaties expressly recognized Indians as having heirs and conveyed

estates to them using those terms. These treaties provided for half-breed children as well as for full blood. This is common knowledge. Anyone at all familiar with local history knows that many of our honored and respected citizens have sprung from Indian marriages, the full validity of which no one ever questioned. Marji Gesick never separated from his tribe in fact and was never separated from it by any legal implication. Charlotte is the lawful heir of Marji Gesick. The other complainants are a son and granddaughter of another daughter born, not of Susan the mother of Charlotte, but of a wife named Odonebequa. All belonged to the Chippewas, were in tribal relations and the marriages were before the cession of any of the Lake Superior lands by treaty. The wives were considered lawful wives and the children lawful children by Indian usage and were so recognized by Marji Gesick. We must either hold that there can be no valid Indian marriage, or we must hold that all marriages are valid which by Indian usage are so regarded. There is no middle ground which can be taken. The Indians did not occupy their territory by our grace and permission but by a right beyond our control. They were placed by the Constitution of the United States beyond our jurisdiction, and we have no more right to control their domestic usages than we would have of those of Turkey or India."

Whether or not Charlotte and her relatives ever received their inheritance is another story. This article is interested only in the controversy between Cooley and Campbell.

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Author's Note:—Cooley's position in this case is astonishing in view of his reputation not only as an authority in constitutional law but as a thorough student of historical implications of our American development. His reputation as an authority in constitutional law far exceeds that of Campbell. It is elementary that the treaty-making power is vested in the Federal government and that treaties made under that power are the law of the land. That a state might, either by legislative enactment or by judicial decision, abrogate a treaty entered into by the United States is legally abhorrent. Yet Cooley's opinion has that fatal

weakness. He would have forced Michigan state law with reference to marriage and probate upon a people who had the legal dignity of members of a nation with which the United States had negotiated a treaty. But if Cooley was wrong in a strictly legal sense, he was even weaker in his broad, general view of the case. This writer has just finished a rather exhaustive study of the life and works of Frederic Baraga, first bishop of the Marquette diocese. One would expect to find, if anywhere, moral abhorrence of summary divorce in a Roman Catholic Bishop. Yet I find not one item of such thought by Baraga. Of course, Baraga regarded the unconverted Indian as a heathen, a precisely correct moralistic position. He expected to find him practicing heathen rites, one of which was summary divorce as a part of polygamy. He devoted his life to the purpose of converting the Indian from all such practices. Nevertheless, until he had accomplished conversion, he approached the individual Indian as one entitled to all the dignity of a human being who merely lacked enlightenment. Once the Indian had been converted, Baraga then insisted upon the injunctions of the Church. Cooley was not willing to grant any dignity to the individual Indian. As a matter of fact, the American Indian was generally polygamous but was also generally forced to practice monogamy by economic necessity. Since Cooley's considerable writings demonstrate a profound knowledge of law and a deep understanding of all ethical concepts, one is compelled to believe that, like many of his generation of Americans, he just despised "Injuns" on general principles. It might be interesting if some student explored this possibility.

## THE FINAL PUSH TO APPOMATTOX

Captain Clark's Account of the Seventh Michigan Cavalry in Action

EDITED BY FRANCES R. REECE

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Ann Arbor, Michigan

**F**OLLOWING General Grant's thrust into northern Virginia and the bloody battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, and Cold Harbor in the spring of 1864, the Union army encircled Richmond, the Confederate capital, on the east side and encamped south of it at Petersburg, Virginia. By the spring of 1865, Grant's army had been holding General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in a state of siege before Petersburg for eight months. Despite the inclement weather, Grant determined to break the siege early in the season and to push Lee's army westward until it had been annihilated. By obtaining the railroads into Richmond and Petersburg, Grant could cut off Lee's supplies and force his desertion of those two cities. Accordingly, Grant opened his campaign on March 29, 1865, and only twelve days later Lee's army surrendered at Appomattox Court House, about seventy-five miles west of Petersburg.

The important railroads lay on the left of the Union line of march. This left flank was entrusted to General Philip Sheridan's cavalry, with infantry reinforcements. Among Sheridan's troops was the Seventh Michigan Cavalry, of which John A. Clark was an officer. The letter which Captain Clark wrote to a home-town friend, William W. Whedon of Chelsea, describes the march and notes the main battles of the closing days in which he was active. This letter offers a remarkable picture of the rapid disintegration of the exhausted enemy during final retreat.

Sheridan and his troops left Petersburg on March 29. On April 1 the desperate battle of Five Forks forced Lee to evacu-

ate Richmond and Petersburg, and the Confederate army began its westward retreat in hope of joining General Johnston's army which was farther south. Heavy fighting occurred at the brief engagement at Sailor's Creek, April 6, when Lee lost five miles of supply wagons. Relentlessly the Union forces moved on to Farmville, where they captured several railroad trains of sorely needed Confederate supplies. On April 9 the two armies came face to face with each other at Appomattox Court House, where Lee admitted the defeat of the Confederacy. During this retreat, Sheridan's tactics had been to keep the cavalry in front to harass the rear skirmishing line of the Confederate army, then to bring up the infantry for the final assault while the cavalry fell back to prepare for its next advance.

Captain John A. Clark was sworn into service for a three-year period on September 2, 1862 at Stockbridge. In October he was commissioned a first lieutenant of Company E of the Seventh Michigan Cavalry, and was mustered into service in January, 1863. He commanded this company from February to August, 1863, when he was commissioned a captain in Company I of the same regiment. In February, 1863 the new regiment went to Washington to report for active duty. During the spring months it was stationed in Virginia. The Seventh Michigan Cavalry moved north to Gettysburg for the action there in July, and then to the battles at Hagerstown and Boonsboro, Maryland. In September the regiment was at Culpeper Court House. On the first of March, 1864, Clark and several others from his regiment were captured near Richmond on a raid with General Kilpatrick. Captain Clark escaped from the prison at Columbia, South Carolina in November, 1864 and returned to his regiment, so that he was present for the final drive. The Seventh Michigan Cavalry took part in the grand review in Washington on May 22 and 23, and was later mustered out of service at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in December, 1865.



CAPTAIN CLARK TO WILLIAM W. WHEDON<sup>1</sup>

Notaway C[ourt] House  
April 16th, 1865

My Kind Friend

It is Sunday, a Pleasant but a lonesome day. I have been writing. We've had dress Parade & it is near night, but I am seated on the ground to write you. Perhaps it may be tedious for I fear it will be lengthy. I am not indebted to you I know, but I believe it is a soldier's Privalige to fight his battles over & I know of none I would more willingly make a victim than yourself. So arm yourself with Patience & Prepare to submit graciously. I hope you received my letter from Washington containing the money, & hence Know when I returned to the Regiment, Reaching it just in time in front of Petersburg to Participate in this grand campain which I hope is to close this cruel war. I suppose you have learned from the Papers a more general & better account than I shall be able to give, as I shall only speak of what I saw & what took place in my immediate vicinity & will commence at our leaveing Petersburg & give you a sort of a Diary of our doings. We left on March 29th about 10 OClock A.M. & marched the rest of the day & all night, makeing quite a circuit reaching Dinwiddie C[ourt] House at about sun rise. We had not halted long enough to get coffee, during the time. We now halted for an hour, then marched a short distance & were massed ready for action if necessary. The 2nd Brigade was fighting in our front. In a short time our Regiment was ordered forward at a trot. We had but 3 Captains & the regiment was arranged in 3 squadrons. On reaching the ground we found Cavalry in our front. The 6th Penn[sylvania] Cavalry was skirmishing. I was ordered to take my squadron & support them while the rest of the Regiment

<sup>1</sup>This manuscript of fourteen pages is one of seven letters from Captain Clark to Mr. Whedon in a scrap-book presented to the William L. Clements Library by Mrs. Susa Coan of Ann Arbor. Captain Clark's spelling has been observed, except for words completed in brackets, but his punctuation has been modernized for convenience in reading.

charged. We soon drove the enemy back to their infantry behind breast work, capturing some Prisoners, among them 1 Lt. Col., 1 Maj., & 1 Capt. & 1 Lieut. These were captured by our Regiment. The 6th Penn was now withdrawn & we took the skirmish line. Soon the Bal of the Brigade was brought forward & we advanced & attacked their works but found them to strong & to well defended for us & returned to our former skirmish line, for the bal of the day, & were relieved at dark & had a nights sleep. The next day [we] were formed ready for what might occur. Remained thus until near noon. The 2nd Brigade of our Division & the 2nd Division had been fighting on our left since early in the morning. The different regiments of our Brigade had been called out one after an other & finally we were hurried out. When we reached the field it seemed in much disorder. I was sent with my squadron to the left p[o]int to find the enemy & feel of him & report. I done so. Proceeded a little more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, found a colum of Infantry coming down evidently with the intention of Preventing our retreat. I commenced skirmishing with them & reported. I was forced to fall back of course but checked them so that we could get back. We fought & fell back about 3 miles but they Payed dearly. We halted at night. During the night our Infantry came up & we advanced over the same ground lost the night before. They [were] retireing before us & were supprised to see the number of dead Rebs & few Yanks. The Prisoners we took this (the 3rd day) said they never saw Cavalry fight as we did. They were Picket[t]'s Division that claimed they never were whiped.<sup>2</sup> But they took a lesson on April 1st that took the conceit all out of them, as I will tell you in the next sheet.

After passing over the ground lost the day before the enemy seemed disposed to make a stand. We attacked them mounted in the woods, but being Infantry they had too much the advantage of us & we dismounted, sent our horses to the rear & did not see them again until after dark. It was now about 10 O'clock AM. We soon drove them through the woods to their

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<sup>2</sup>This action at Five Forks was General George E. Pickett's greatest battle.

works a few rods in the rear of the woods & did not permit them to expose themselves again with impunity. If they did they got a shot. Our Brigade was in front & center. It was for us to hold them for others to get ready to cooperate. At about 5 O'clock the Infantry charged & drove their left Flank with the 3rd Division Partially in their rear & we charged their works in front & the Boastful division showed as clean a pair of heels as you could wish to see. Genl. Sheridan coming up was cheered by the men. He took his flag from his sergent, called upon the men saying, "I want you men from the Shenendoah this way", & two guns that had been annoying us were ours.<sup>3</sup> All was excitement & pursueing the flying foe as fast as possible, but night overtook us & we were forced to halt. We captured 13,000 Prisoners, but more than all, turned the enemy's left flank, gained the [South Side] R[ail]. Road & Prepared the way for obtaining Petersburg & Richmond & we were happy notwithstanding death had been by our side & the P[l]ace of comrads was vacant. In times like this dead & wounded men cause none to falter but all are excited & move forward. Those that were in the rear with led horses said they never heard such vollies. Very little artillery was used. We rested only for the night. In the morning we started forward, skirmished with their rear guard & finally came up with infantry, again dismounted & again drove them to their works. We were much exposed & could not drive them as they had quite good works [and] greatly outnumbered us (Having only one Brigade). But [we] had a spendid Position. They dare not attackt us. We got within speaking distance, called on them to come & take us, that we were only cavalry. But they did not respond. After dark we withdrew a short distance. They sent out two parties intending to attackt us in front & flank. Came together in the woods & had a sharpe little fight all among themselves. We stood bye consenting, thinking it best not to medle in family matters. In the morning they were gone & we had a good opportunity to see what we had to contend with.

<sup>3</sup>During February and March, 1865, the Seventh Michigan Cavalry was with Sheridan on a raid in the Shenandoah Valley.

Our Division being in the rear today had no fighting. The enemy falling back rapidly, abandoning waggons, ambulances, cacons, ammunition, &c. We had crossed the South Side R. R. & were making for the Danville [Railroad].

April 4th we again found the enemy, dismounted, charged & drove their skirmish line from a hill, where a portion of it was protected by buildings, to their works in the edge of some wood in the rear.<sup>4</sup> It was my fortune to have charge of that part of the line which charged these buildings. We took two Prisoners. Again it was only 3 Rigiments of our Brigade & their Prisoners told us there was 1 Division of Cavalry & two of Infantry. Let me tell you a little incident that occurred here to show with what coolness they make requests. A short time after getting possession of these buildings one of my men said the family was in a cellar of one of the out buildings & desired to see me. I found the Planter, wife & family & some 8 or 10 Negros. He very coolly requested me to Place a guard over his house saying that he had Provisions stored there. I told him very emfaticly that my men were not doing guard duty, that I had just drove his friends from there & I intended to remain until recalled; That the men would not be permitted to enter the house until recalled, when, if it contained anything my men wanted, they would not be prevented from taking it. "Then you will not grant me Protection?" "I am here to fight Rebels, not Protect them, and am in favor of fighting them until the last one surrenders or find that last ditch, & so long as food is in the country my men shall not want." After dark we were recalled & marched all night, having only time to get us a little coffee.

The next day, Apl. 5th, [we] reached & crossed the Danville R.R. Infantry were entrenched on the road. During this night we had been marched from the rear to the front of Lee's army. It was Sheridan's intention to have attackted Lee here, but Meade came up & disapproved. Grant was sent for but arrived to late for any thing to be done this day & in the morning Lee

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<sup>4</sup>Action at Duck Pond Mills.

had moved around our Left flank & we started after him Apl. 6th. We marched hurriedly & soon came in sight of his waggon train. The Artillery commenced shelling it & we went for it.<sup>5</sup> Were repulsed. [We] found it strongly guarded with infantry but while we could not capture we could retard their progress very much, giving the Infantry an opportunity to come up. When they reached the ground, we joined them & my squadron being the advance of the Brigade were next to the 6th corps & I had an opportunity to see more of this fight than at any day Previous. It would seem that a large part of Lee's army had been brought to defend the train at this time. As we advanced, their rear guard & skirmish line retired on the main boddy which were on a side of a hill sloping toward a small stream & we were formed on a similar one in front & sloping towards the same stream. A part of their line was hid by woods & bushes. The 6th corps advanced down the hill & across the stream & commenced assending the other, The artillery shelling the enemy. They had to face a storm of bullets & did it bravely. We were on their left & advanced with them mounted. The 3rd Division of Cavalry charged the enemy in rear at the same time & what was not killed we captured. Capturing a large number of Prisoners, generals, 70 guns, more than 30 battle flags & destroying 5 miles of waggon train. Night again brought us to a halt or Lee & his army would have been ours. On the morning of the 7th we started again for Lee's front. He seemed now striving to get to Lynchburg. We marched down Past the Prisoners with all our Battle flags captured the day before flying. They were a sorry set of men but there was no help for them.

The 7th we found no enemy to fight as we were passing along their flank paralell with them, but near night as we approached Appomattox station we heard firing in our front, the 3rd Division having the advance. We went forward at a rapid gait & when we reached the R.R. saw 3 trains well laden with supplies in our hands. [We] went in & assisted in capturing a

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<sup>5</sup>Battle of Sailor's Creek.

waggon train, [and] a quantity of Artillery which kept us busy until midnight.<sup>6</sup> We now took a little rest knowing that we were in Lee's front—two Divisions of Cavalry—and we must hold Lee until the Infantry could come up & we knew not how far in the rear that was, but determined to hold them at any rate & have the army of North Virginia dead or alive. Early on the morning of the 9th firing commenced & grew more rapid. Our Brigade was ordered out, hastened to the front, dismounted, placed in an open piece of woods. We found ourselves opposed to sharp shooters, greatly outnumbering us, & our flanks were greatly exposed. But our 7 shooters kept them back for a long time until finally they were around us like a horse shoe. A tree was no protection. They took good aim. We were forced to fall back, but slowly & in good order, going but a short distance at a time. We were in the open field but the men seemed determined to contest every foot of ground. But soon our Infantry made their appearance in our rear & we were withdrawn, mounted & started for the enemy's rear preparatory to a charge. While on our way firing suddenly ceased. We were told that Lee & his army had surrendered & cheer upon cheer went up, yet there was not that enthusiasm I expected to see. But we had had a series of successes, knew that we would have him that day & would have preferred to have captured than have him surrendered. I rode out with an other captain of our Regiment to take a view of "the Last Ditch." We were not permitted to go down into it but had a good view at a distance of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile. It was not what we have always considered a ditch to be. It was more of a basin surrounded by hills. The Rebels army were in the basin & our forces occupied the hills surrounding. We rode up to a house, found it occupied by a Mr Mirton who had formerly been a member of Congress. They received us cordially, spent about an hour in pleasant conversation & at our leave, shook us by the hand, thanked us for calling & invited us to call again, &c.

Since writing the above, we have moved to Petersburg. Our

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<sup>6</sup>These trains were captured at Farmville.

camp is just out side the town. Am going in today to see the town. I fear I have troubled you with a long letter, but as you was instrumental in presenting me with sabre & belt, I felt like giveing an account of my stewardship. I feel that [since] the fighting is passed that my Repputation as an officer of the Reg[iment]. is passed correction & I am willing to abide the record. That sabre has been present in all the engagements. No man was permitted to do my duty for me. I went as far & stayed as long as any one. I do not say this boastingly. I feel thankfull to my Heavenly Father for his proticting care [&] to give him all the Praise. I feel that my greatest recompense in escaping is in being permitted to participate in this last grand struggle. Had I waited to be exchanged I could not have been present. I fear this may look egotistical but I never felt more humble. I could but feel that I was redeming my Promise to meet the Reb under diferent circumstances & I was most happy. I will tell you many incidents (that I will not write), when I see you. I would like an other watch, as I traded that for a horse. Can you use the money at Oneida? If so will have Libbie pay it as you direct. If not will send draft as before.

Love to all; Write often,

J. A. Clark.





HISTORICAL NOTES  
AND COMMENTS



## THE BIDDLE HOUSE ON MACKINAC ISLAND

**I**N RESPONSE to our request, Commissioner Don McGowan of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission has sent us the following story about this old house on the Island. He says, "I have been unable as yet to obtain as much detail as I wished. . . . Perhaps when the restoration has been accomplished, we can supply you with a detailed description of the house as restored, if you want it, and some pictures." Mr. McGowan's story follows:

Mackinac Island's oldest residence, the romantic Biddle house, now belongs to the people of Michigan. It will be restored to its oldtime condition by the Mackinac Island State Park Commission and maintained as a place of historic interest.

The Biddle house is a story-and-a-half structure of Cape Cod type which stands on Mackinac Island's Astor avenue (the second street paralleling the waterfront) a short distance west of the American Fur Company buildings. It was built in 1820 by Edward Biddle, a prosperous fur trader, who had just married the Indian stepdaughter of Joseph Bailly.

This period was Mackinac Island's heyday. With the close of the War of 1812, John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company had gained domination of its field. The celebrated Robert Stuart lately had become resident manager. While the Biddle house was under construction, Lewis Cass, Henry R. Schoolcraft and their party stopped at Mackinac on their voyage of exploration that resulted in the discovery of the Mississippi's headwaters.

A member of a family that was and still is among America's "first," Edward Biddle was a brother of Major John Biddle, a leading citizen of early Detroit, who served the territory as delegate to Congress and presided at the Constitutional Convention of 1835. Another brother was Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia, president of the second bank of the United States. Less famous than his brothers, Edward Biddle, never-

theless, was well-known throughout the vast fur-producing area of which Mackinac Island was the trading center. That he was highly regarded in the community is indicated by the fact that he served as village president.

While the house Edward Biddle built for his Indian bride was, by present-day standards, far from pretentious, it was a mansion for that time and place. Most of Mackinac Island's residences, aside from the Indian tepees along the beach, were cabins of unpeeled cedar logs, thatched with bark. The Biddle house had clapboard siding. Two dormers rose from the roof in front, and the roof was shingled. There was an imposing stone chimney.

Edward Biddle and his wife lived in this house for half a century, and in it they died. Three children were born to them, of whom the eldest was a daughter, Sophia. Her parents sent her to Philadelphia to be educated, and when she returned to the Island she was a beautiful and charming young woman. She had many admirers, including Lt. John C. Pemberton of the Fort Mackinac garrison, who, some 25 years later, as Lt. Gen. Pemberton, C.S.A., surrendered to Grant at Vicksburg. But Sophia soon was dead of tuberculosis. Her story has been sentimentalized in fiction.

Last survivor among the children of the Edward Biddles was Sarah, who married Charles Durfee. The old house passed to her, and came to be known for a time as "The Durfee house." Born December 12, 1833, Mrs. Durfee lived almost 100 years, dying at Lansing January 27, 1933. She was buried on the Island.

The property was acquired for the State from E. C. Bath, of Ypsilanti, a grandson of Mrs. Durfee. The Mackinac Island State Park Commission accepted it as a gift from Frank D. McKay, of Grand Rapids.

Research preliminary to an authentic restoration of the house is now in progress. The building remains substantially the same as when erected, but it has been unoccupied and closed for many years, and there is a considerable amount of

work for carpenters and painters. The Commission plans to furnish and equip the house in the style of the 1820's and make it a place which everyone who comes to the Island will want to visit.

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#### ARNOLD TRANSIT COMPANY MAKES HISTORY

**T**HE Arnold Transit company started as the Arnold Line in 1883, its early function being to cater to the supply requirements of the Mackinac Lumber company's camp and mills and the extensive fishing industry that was then operated at the Straits.

After 1885, with the construction of the railroads to Mackinaw City, there developed a great expansion in the summer tourist business. Hotels and summer homes were built on Mackinac Island and in the "Snows" region at a rapid rate.

Until about 15 years ago, a large part of the Straits area depended upon vessel transportation, necessitating an operating season from earliest spring until the freeze-up in late fall. Store and supply stocks to carry through the winter had to be moved into various vessel-served locations prior to the annual freeze-up. With the development of improved highways and wholesale supply centers in the area, the necessity for this type of transportation ceased.

Thereafter, the local boat services gradually revised operations to coincide with increasing highway, tourist, and trucking volumes and concentrated on routes where vessels remained the only means of transportation, principally Mackinac Island.

From 1883 to 1895 vessels were mostly of small tonnage and averaged six in service during each navigation season. Regular routes served extended from Cheboygan, Mackinaw City and St. Ignace to Mackinac Island and Les Cheneaux Islands; freighting services to lumber camps and fishing villages along the north shore of Lake Michigan as far west as Manistique, and summer season services to Sault Ste. Marie.

From 1895 to 1900, the traffic requiring somewhat larger and faster vessels, a new operation was commenced to provide round trip daily passenger and freight service between Sault Ste. Marie and DeTour, the entire length of St. Mary's River. This service continued until 1922.

Peak of the operations was reached during the period from 1900 to 1903 when the Arnold Transit company was organized to supplement Arnold Line steamers, and the vessels Iroquois and Chippewa, especially constructed to serve routes with summer terminals at Petoskey, Menominee, Straits ports and Sault Ste. Marie, were put into service. At the close of 1903 these vessels were sent to the West Coast via "Around the Horn" route, where they engaged as ferries between Seattle and Bremerton Navy Yard. Incidentally, the Chippewa is still so engaged on the route, but now a fast, streamlined, diesel powered vessel, the first of its type converted or constructed.

From 1904 until 1921, except as previously mentioned, operations were confined to local Straits routes and a daily round trip to Sault Ste. Marie, utilizing such vessels as the side-wheeler Chippewa, converted from the U. S. revenue cutter Fessenden. In 1923, this vessel went into service between Sandusky and Lake Erie islands.

Within the past 12 years operations have been confined exclusively to Straits of Mackinac routes, serving Mackinac Island throughout each navigation season, and the Les Cheneaux Islands route during the summer tourist months.

While the widest scope of operations, with the maximum of equipment, occurred during the years 1900 to 1903, the greatest volume of passengers carried by the Arnold Transit company was during the 1940 navigation season. During the period 1934 to 1940 the company also offered "speed cruiser" summer services. These vessels were requisitioned by the Navy in 1942.

Present vessels in service are the S. S. Mackinac Islander, serving on mainland routes between St. Ignace and Mackinac Island all year and the Mackinaw City-Mackinac Island route

in summer, while the larger *Algomah II* remains laid up due to diminished wartime traffic. The diesel powered *Ottawa* will operate on the summer route to Les Cheneaux Islands and will augment the St. Ignace-Mackinac Island service during the busy season.—From the *Sault Ste. Marie News*, May 15, 1944.

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#### THE JOHNSTON-SCHOOLCRAFT HOUSE AT THE SOO

**I**N THE Autumn 1943 issue of the Magazine there was noted the plans for restoring the old Johnston-Schoolcraft home at Sault Ste. Marie. This was the second oldest building in the Old Northwest. The following article is from issues of the *Sault Evening News* for July 12 and 16, 1943:

John Johnston brought his young Indian wife, Neengay, the Woman of the Glade, and his infant son, Louis to Sault Ste. Marie from the Apostle Islands late in 1793. "He bought the Londrie home to live in while building his own house," writes Anna M. Johnston, a granddaughter. "When my grandfather came here, there were only four white families here, and they were all French—the Londries, Nolins, Cadottes and Piquettes."

The Johnston home was the most pretentious in the village of Bawating, as it was called then. What is left of it stands on private land claim number 105. It is built of small logs squared on the outside, the crevices plastered with mortar. The logs were covered with clapboards sawed by hand, a laborious process called whip-sawing.

The claim is now the property of the Thompson Towing and Wrecking company. A section containing a large fireplace and having a small porch on the north side was torn down in 1910. The home faced the north toward the river, and the fireplace was on the south or Park Place side. Ruins of the old fireplace were left on the property. There were sleeping rooms in the west end of the building as well as in the loft, and the latter is lighted by dormer windows.

According to Judge Charles H. Chapman, the section still standing was built by Johnston in 1822, to celebrate the wedding of his oldest daughter Jane to Henry R. Schoolcraft. The latter states in one of his letters that the wooden mantel and frame of the old fireplace had been presented to the Michigan pioneer museum at Lansing.

"It must have taken much longer to build a house in those days," says Anna Johnston. "The logs were cut in the nearby woods and drawn out by oxen. There were no mills and the lumber had to be sawed by hand. A little table with drop leaves, which was left in the Londrie house when grandfather bought it, is still in our possession.

"I remember when I used to visit Aunt Eliza, to whom the house was deeded as her share of her father's property, and where she lived alone for many years. Sometimes my sister would go with me, and we usually entered through the kitchen door. If it was in summer every window would be open, and perhaps Aunt would be at the other end of the house, which seemed extremely long to us then. She would be singing at her work, and her voice was singularly sweet," continues Miss Johnston in her story of the old home.

"I recall every detail of the furnishings of the rooms; the large bedroom at the upper end of the house with its fireplace; the larger parlor in which there was also a fireplace; the wide hall, and the dining room from which opened two bedrooms; and the kitchen with its old-fashioned stone chimney.

"In the dining room there was a sideboard between two windows facing the river, and on it stood a hammered silver cake stand, a sugar bowl and cream pitcher; a funny old tea caddy shaped like a melon; and a plaster cast of Paul and Virginia, whose necks we used to adorn with chains made from moss that grew on the little hillocks round about.

"In the sideboard were the china and some pretty cut glass tumblers and other glasses. A natural wood center table stood not far from the fireplace, and on it was a delicate glass which often held some of the roses which still grew in the old



garden. And as we went from room to room, there would be the fragrance everywhere of lilac or sweet-brier.

"There were on the mantel various other little objects of interest. I recall an East Indian idol carved from some kind of brown wood that was very hard and knotty. It was brought from India by a returned missionary whose name I have forgotten. There was a sofa with little bolster-shaped cushions at each end, and a rocking chair with a lovely velvet scarf over the back that I used to admire very much.

"On one of the tables were books and a checker board, and in one corner stood the old clock which was wound regularly every night. Then there were the 'Graces,' hoops covered with ribbon and colored pieces fastened on all around.

"Portraits of Grandfather Johnston and other members of the family hung on the parlor walls of the old home, and there were pictures of scenes in Ireland around the home of his boyhood. There were also two pretty pictures painted on velvet by some friend of Aunt Eliza's.

"I think the contents of the cupboard in the dining room interested me as much as anything. There were the nicest seed cakes I ever ate and doughnuts, and floating island cakes, and even short cakes, dough cakes and potato cakes. They were all good.

"Sometimes Aunt would cook things by the fire in the kitchen chimney, and that was a treat for us. I must not forget mention of the Eolian harp which she would place in the open window. The wind blowing over the strings made strange noise and indescribable music.

"Then, again, Aunt would let us dress up in her clothes. One article we admired very much—a dark blue coat with velvet trimmings. We used to trail around the rooms in her dresses. I loved to look at her jewelry and little trinkets and have her tell me their history. I delighted to have her tell me stories over and over again of the parties they used to have, when the rooms would be filled with guests, and what their names were, and where they came from.

"At that time there were six poplar trees which Aunt Eliza and her sisters had transplanted in the field back of the house, and I think these trees were still standing in 1911."

The remaining section of house is 40 by 60 feet in size, and it has been kept in a good state of preservation by the owners, the Thompson Towing and Wrecking company. The ruins of the west fireplace, belonging to the section torn down in 1910, are covered with ivy and grasses.

Behind the house—that is, away from the river—were the garden, reaching back to First street, later Park Place or Water street, which was laid out by Johnston in 1816, and a barn located on the old lane, east of the house. Part of this lane may be seen and is in use today. In front of the home it jogged about 50 feet to the westward and continued north across the common to the river and to Johnston's dock.

John McDougal Johnston, son of John Johnston, has left a drawing showing other buildings on the Johnston claim about 1822. A warehouse about 50 feet square stood a few rods west of the home. West of that was a carpenter shop and a tenant house, and southwest of the latter was the old blacksmith shop, built in 1795.

A carpenter shop stood on the common in front of the house, toward the river, and on the lane beside it were the men's house, a warehouse, and the Johnston store. Nearby were a fur press and the fish house. Another barn stood just east of the lane, north of it was a wine cellar, and beside the latter a milk house and ice house. These were on two sides of a large barnyard.

Just east of the yard was the old De Repentigny farm which had been worked by Jean Baptiste Cadotte. This, says the legend, was the first land in Chippewa county plowed with an iron plow. The first timothy and clover hay were raised there in 1818. The lot is on the west side of Johnstone street today, where the Kemp Brothers Coal Company office stands.

Johnston's wife, the O'Jibway girl, Neengay, lived happily in the old home with her husband for 36 years, and became

the mother of four boys and four girls. Johnston acquired a comfortable fortune in fur trade but lost most of it in the War of 1812. His talents, good nature, wide acquaintance, and his marriage with Chief Waub-ojeeg's daughter brought him great influence in the community. His wife became a Christian, and her energy and strength of mind, as well as her O'Jibway descent, endeared her to the northern Indians. Many of the O'Jibway traditions and legends which we now enjoy have come down to us through her, having been translated from her diction by her daughters and by Schoolcraft.

Jane, the oldest daughter, married Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and her aid and that of her mother was invaluable to him in the writing of his many books. His sister, Charlotte, became the wife of the Reverend Mr. McMurray, Episcopal missionary in Canada. Anna married James Schoolcraft, Henry's brother. Eliza remained single.

Louis, the oldest son, was aboard one of the British ships captured by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie in 1813. George became a soldier in the British army. William and John were interpreters for the U. S. Indian Service. John was interpreter for his brother Henry R. Schoolcraft, who was Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie and later at Mackinac Island. He eventually served as Indian Commissioner for Michigan Territory and finally as the first U. S. Indian Commissioner at Washington.

Thus it appears that Johnston and his wife raised their family amid what were many comforts for that early day, on a domain which was a combined farm and trading post. Beyond a doubt the old home was the real birthplace of the "Song of Hiawatha." It was a charming story which came down through Neengay and her children to Schoolcraft and thence to the discerning mind of Longfellow, who endowed it with immortality.

Johnston died in 1828. Four years later Mrs. Johnston presented to the local Presbyterian congregation and its pastor, the Reverend Jeremiah Porter, a church building which once

a warehouse standing beside the Johnston home. This is believed to have been the first instance in America where a full-blooded Indian devoted a building to the Christian cause.

One by one the deceased members of the Johnston family were buried in the village cemetery where the Carnegie Library building stands. Later the bodies were re-interred in the Johnston family lot at the extreme southwestern corner of Riverside cemetery. A marble tombstone carrying a poetic epitaph by Schoolcraft marks the site.

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#### FIRST IRON MINE IN THE UPPER PENINSULA

**I**N FIVE installments the *Negaunee Iron Herald* for April 21 and 28, and May 5, 12, and 19, 1944, tells the history of the Jackson Iron Mine, location of the first iron ore deposit discovered in the Upper Peninsula in 1844. The article is compiled by Mr. R. A. Brotherton of Negaunee who wrote "The Discovery of Iron Ore: Negaunee Centennial" which appeared in the Spring issue of the Magazine.

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#### MAD ANTHONY'S DRUM BEAT

(From the Bulletin of the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association,  
Edited by Dr. M. M. Quaife, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit  
Public Library)

**A** GAIN MAD ANTHONY'S DRUM IS HEARD summoning patriotic Americans to his standard. On Jan. 17, 1941, at Toledo civic-minded citizens from Indiana, Michigan and Ohio who had been meeting for discussion over a period of several months formally organized the ANTHONY WAYNE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION designed to increase public pride in our heroic past and to encourage and promote the appropriate celebration of the 150th anniversary of the American conquest of the Great Lakes Basin in the years from 1790 to 1796.

FORMAL STATEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION'S PURPOSES COMPRISED THESE FOUR OBJECTIVES :

1. The promotion of historical celebrations commemorative of the period.
2. Encouragement of research in the history of the Great Lakes area and the publication of its results.
3. Development of a program for the selection and proper marking of historical sites, parkways and routes pertinent thereto.
4. Promotion of a program of popular education concerning Anthony Wayne and the extension of American rule over the Great Lakes.

EARLY PROGRESS TOWARD REALIZING THESE OBJECTIVES WAS gratifying. State Committees of 5 members were organized in each of the States, and these taken together constitute the general ANTHONY WAYNE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, whose function it is to coordinate and serve as a general clearing house for information concerning the activities in all the States. Identical bills were introduced in the Michigan and Ohio State Legislatures providing for the appointment of nonpartisan joint legislative committees to cooperate with the State Anthony Wayne Committee, and in general to serve as liaison agency between the State Government and the popular civic organization. The Association adopted an annual budget totaling \$1800, \$600 to be raised by volunteer contributions in each of the 3 States, and several hundred dollars were collected. In December 1941, the first issue of the Association's Bulletin, MAD ANTHONY'S DRUM BEAT, edited by the present writer, was issued, and an edition of 1800 copies distributed to the press, historical organizations, and interested citizens of the three participating States.

AND THEN, ON DEC. 7, CAME PEARL HARBOR. Declarations of War upon the United States by the power-mad gangsters of Germany and the Do-Nothing Emperor of Japan quickly followed. First things must come first, and in the stress of such

an assault upon the life of the Nation the work of the ANTHONY WAYNE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION was suspended. For the moment, all thought and energy was centered upon the task of girding America for war around the globe. Today, how great the change we witness! Our navy, temporarily stricken down at Pearl Harbor, is driving the Japanese from the South Pacific and steadily moving forward to the appointed rendezvous at Tokio; our air force is steadily blasting Berlin and other great cities of Germany from the face of the earth; our armies, millions strong, have already reduced the breast-thumping extrovert who strutted his little time on the throne of the Caesars to a memory, and the Madman who aspired to the role of Dictator of the World is well advanced on the road to the same destination.

SOONER OR LATER THE WAR WILL END and America will be free once more to resume the ways of peace. But to what end will it have been fought if meanwhile we sacrifice our ideals of democracy and freedom to preserve which we went to war? The one sure way to prevent such a sacrifice is to keep alive a knowledge of the struggles in whose heat our American way of life was fashioned and our individual freedom won. One important part of this story, which is of particular value to the States of the Old Northwest concerns the story of how President Washington and General Wayne completed the conquest of the Old Northwest and carried the American flag to the Great Lakes.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS CONQUEST can scarcely be exaggerated. The section which contains such cities as Cleveland and Cincinnati, Toledo, Indianapolis and Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Duluth is today the industrial and political heart of the Nation. One single spot in it, the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, is more important to the national safety and the winning of the war than the city of Washington itself; for the war could go on, even though Washington were destroyed, but if America were deprived of the ore from the

Superior ranges which comes down to the mills of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan through the Sault Canal our war effort would suffer an immediate and fatal collapse. Added to the indispensable supplies of iron ore the section produces, the Lakes support an immense commerce in other products. In 1942, over 92,000,000 tons of ore were transported, more than 40% in excess of any year before 1940; of all bulk freight the tonnage was 178,000,000, almost a 30% increase over any pre-war year. The Detroit River which Mad Anthony visited and over which he expressed his amazement in 1796, is now the busiest waterway in the world. Past the little town of Amherstburg at its mouth went 29,770 ships in the season of 1941, at the rate of one every 12 minutes, day and night, throughout the entire season. No other spot in the world sees such a number of ships and no other waterway carries so huge a tonnage. So we have something to celebrate in commemorating the conquest achieved by President Washington and General Wayne. The staggering figures from which we have briefly quoted reveal how the country they brought under the American Flag is making a mockery of the boasted industrial might of Germany and Japan.

OHIO RINGS THE BELL. Even amid such prodigious wartime activities, the ANTHONY WAYNE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION has made substantial progress, particularly in Ohio. In Michigan in the winter of 1942 the Governor appointed a joint legislative committee to cooperate with the Association but interest in its objective was then lacking and it remained a Do-Nothing committee. Efforts to include this subject in the Governor's call for the special session of 1944 were unsuccessful, as have, thus far, been the efforts made to interest the State Highway Department. Save for the vicinity of Fort Wayne, a somewhat similar state of inaction yet prevails in Indiana. Ohio, however, immediate scene of Mad Anthony's triumph, has literally gone to town on the project, and our further story concerns the developments in that State.



IN RESPONSE TO THE URGING OF THE ASSOCIATION, by Joint Resolution of the 95th General Assembly a committee of 5 senators and 5 representatives, with Governor Bricker as ex officio member, was created, and charged "to cooperate with the statewide committee of the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association in developing the objects and purposes" of that body. Members of the Committee thus created are: Senators Fred L. Adams, Bowling Green; Raymond H. Burke, Hamilton; Theodore H. Gray, Piqua; Margaret A. Mahoney, Cleveland; and Fred R. Seibert, St. Marys; Representatives Harold W. Carr, Circleville; Roy E. Harmony, Sidney; Guy D. Hawley, Greenville; Fred L. Hoffman, Cincinnati; and Roy H. Lognecker, Pemberville.

NOR HAS THIS PROVED ITSELF A DO-NOTHING COMMITTEE. Although it operates without pay and without cost to the State, and although the members individually are busy men and women of affairs, under the able leadership of Representative Hawley of Greenville, General Chairman of the Committee, they have sacrificed both time and money, usually traveling long distances, to attend the meetings that have been held, and they have exhibited a sympathetic attitude toward the objectives of the Memorial Association and have striven intelligently and harmoniously to develop common viewpoints and to reach the wisest possible decisions concerning the ways and means for achieving them. In addition to the members of the legislative committee, officials and heads of various administrative departments of the State Government—Conservation, Highway, Historical and others—have taken an active interest in the objectives of the Memorial Association.

MEETINGS OF THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ASSOCIATION were held at Defiance, September 28, 1943, and at Bowling Green, Feb. 8-9, 1944. The attendance at each conference numbered 25 or 30, including legislators, State officials, and members of the ANTHONY WAYNE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. The earlier meeting was an all-day

affair, with luncheon and noon business sessions at Defiance, followed by a tour of inspection of the Parkway developments already made along the Maumee from Defiance to Toledo, and ending with a dinner and evening session at Maumee City. The Bowling Green conference, at which the Bowling Green State University acted as gracious host to the Conference, was a two-day affair. The accommodations were ideal, and the advantages of meeting in a small city, free from the distractions which are necessarily encountered in a large one, were fully evident and industriously utilized by those in attendance upon the gathering.

SPACE IS LACKING FOR A DETAILED REPORT of the discussions and in what follows we confine ourselves to a summary statement of the decisions reached. The Ohio Committee of the Memorial Association is desirous of procuring the establishment of an Anthony Wayne Memorial Parkway along the route taken by Wayne's army in the State, running northward from Cincinnati to Greenville and Defiance and along the Maumee from Toledo to the Indiana State Line. If the hoped-for cooperation of Indiana and Michigan is obtained, the parkway will be extended westward to Fort Wayne and northward from Toledo to Detroit, the ultimate goals of Wayne's campaign. Definition of this phase of the project as formulated by Editor Ralph Peters of the Defiance *Crescent-Sun* and adopted by the legislative committee is as follows: "Parks and historic shrines shall be defined as areas of land with or without water, developed and used for public recreational or cultural purposes, including sites of military forts and camps, landscaped tracts, picnic grounds, playgrounds, athletic fields, camps, foot, bicycle and bridle paths, motor vehicle drives, wildlife sanctuaries, museum, zoological gardens, forests, rivers, lakes, facilities for bathing, boating, hunting and fishing, historical markers and monuments, and such other recreational and cultural facilities as may benefit the public. Connecting drives shall be defined as existing

state or county roads, limited access highways, boulevards or free access roads, with or without parklike features."

NECESSITY OF A COORDINATED PLAN for a memorial project throughout the entire extent of the military campaign was emphasized by Chairman Hawley. It was the lack of such a program which led the recent Legislature to withhold an appropriation for an Anthony Wayne Memorial Commission, and to create, instead, this Committee, charged with the duty of formulating a definite plan to lay before the forthcoming session of the Legislature. It was emphasized that there is no desire to take from existing park boards or other local agencies any control they now exercise over such parks or other memorials; instead, efforts of the Committee are directed to cooperate with all such local agencies to develop unity of effort and harmony of planning throughout the area.

THE PROBLEM OF AN ADEQUATE RESEARCH PROGRAM was considered at the forenoon session on February 9. Mr. Larson of Detroit, treasurer of the Memorial Association, urged that another issue of the *Drum Beat* be published and made available to the Legislative Committee. Chairman Hawley, on behalf of the Committee, formally invited the Association to do this. Dr. Quaife of Detroit, General Chairman of the Memorial Association dwelt upon the great need for the comprehensive assemblage and publication, with competent editing, of all the records pertinent to the military campaigns of 1790-95. By them an imperial domain was added to the American Flag and 150 years have been allowed to pass with no such documentary publication being undertaken by anyone. Yet for the cost of a mile or two of cement highway or a single railroad underpass, the entire work could be done. "We are intent upon developing a love of our country," he concluded, "but you can't expect people to love something they have never heard of." There was general informal agreement that development of a knowledge of our history and traditions is an essential influence in maintaining national morale and unity.

MR. ERWIN ZEPP, CURATOR OF STATE MEMORIALS, and W. R. Wheelock of the Division of Conservation and Natural Resources of Ohio, discussed aspects of the Parks and Parkway program. They described the type of parks to be established and called attention to the monuments and local parks already in existence. Parkways will be established wherever practicable along the highway; the purpose is to provide recreation and at the same time to acquaint the people of Ohio and tourists from elsewhere with the historical heritage of the region.

CHAIRMAN HAWLEY APPOINTED THESE SUB COMMITTEES to report upon each phase of the project at the next meeting:

1. *Research*: Chairman, Rep. R. H. Longenecker of Pemberville; Senator Burke of Hamilton; Harlow Lindley, Secretary of Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society; Dr. Lewis E. Warren, Abraham Lincoln Foundation, Fort Wayne; and M. M. Quaife, Detroit Public Library.

2. *Education*: Chairman, Senator T. M. Gray of Piqua; Senator Margaret Mahoney of Cleveland; Dr. Curtis Garrison, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont; Kenneth Ray, State Director of Education; Prof. A. T. Volwiler, Ohio University, Athens.

3. *Parks and Parkways*: Chairman, Senator F. R. Seibert, St. Marys; Rep. Harold W. Carr, Hicksville; Charles E. Hatch, Lucas County Planning Commission, Toledo; Messrs. Wheelock and Dupre, Columbus.

4. *Publicity and Promotion*: Chairman, Rep. Fred L. Hoffman, Cincinnati; Rep. Roy E. Harmony, Sidney; Editor S. A. Canary, Bowling Green; Editor Ralph W. Peters, Defiance; Robert H. Larson, Director Detroit Historical Society.

5. *Administration*: Chairman, Senator Fred L. Adams, Bowling Green; Rep. Guy D. Hawley, Greenville; Senator R. H. Burke, Hamilton; Editor Ralph W. Peters, Defiance; Curator Erwin Zepp, Columbus; James H. Rodabaugh, Division of Historic Memorials, Columbus.

CHAIRMAN HAWLEY INVITED the Legislative Committee and members of the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association to hold their next meeting in Greenville, his home city, the latter part of May, 1944. The invitation was unanimously accepted.

THE HOSPITALITY OF BOWLING GREEN UNIVERSITY, extended by President Frank J. Prout and his capable assistants proved exceedingly pleasant to the visitors. Especially enjoyable were the dinners and conferences held in the charming rooms of the Falcon's Nest, with their great open fireplaces. College life was never like this in Ye Editor's own now distant youth; nor was he ever before assigned a room in the most attractive University Hospital from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon (they didn't even have a college medical officer in his time).

TREASURER, WILLIAM F. LAWLER, OF DETROIT, enthusiastic friend and able promoter of the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association died untimely on June 1, 1943. His interest in patriotic and historical activities was unceasing, and on the very day of his funeral a marker was unveiled for whose erection he was chiefly responsible and at whose unveiling he was to have delivered a principal address. Genial, optimistic, friendly, his cheery presence and constructive counsel will be sadly missed by his associates in the Anthony Wayne Memorial Association. Although a resident of Detroit for some years, his earlier associations were with Ohio, and his remains were taken to Akron for interment.

SOME ANTHONY WAYNE PLACE NAMES: Americans delight to honor their leaders by giving their names to cities, counties, and other geographical units. There are about 3,000 counties in the United States. Thirty of them, exactly one per cent, are named Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Jackson follow closely, with 24, 23, 22, and 21 counties respectively. All of these men were statesmen, and all save Franklin were popular Presidents.

After these leaders came Madison with 19 counties, and Clay with 18, two more prominent politicians. Military heroes

are distinctly secondary to politicians, at least in the matter of naming counties for them. Sixteen are named for Wayne, 14 for Greene, 11 for Scott. There are 13 Grant counties, but not all of them were named for General Grant. Three more counties have been named for Anthony Wayne than for any other mere military leader in our history. In addition, numerous townships and about thirty villages and towns bear his name.

WAYNE COUNTY, MICHIGAN, established in August, 1796, within a few weeks after the American occupation of Detroit, is one of the nation's richest counties. Its population of 2,000,000 exceeds that of half the States of the Union, and is greater than the combined populations of half a dozen of them. When first established, Wayne County included most of present-day Michigan besides extensive portions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. The sites of Milwaukee, Chicago, Fort Wayne, Toledo, Cleveland, and Detroit were all in Wayne County. From 1803 to 1805 letters sent to Chicago were addressed, "Chicago, Wayne County, Indiana Territory." Today Wayne County paces the world in all that pertains to mechanical enterprise. The name of Detroit has become a household word alike in the jungles of Africa, and in the wastes of the Arctic, and every living person is affected daily by the influences emanating from Wayne County.

A BILL NOW IN CONGRESS, introduced by Representative Clevenger of Bryan, Ohio, authorizes the appropriation of \$30,000 for a preliminary survey of "The General Anthony Wayne Memorial Parkway." Such a Parkway would logically run from Detroit to Toledo and Fort Wayne, and southward from Fort Wayne or Defiance to Cincinnati. In foregoing paragraphs we have shown the alertness of Ohioans to the project. If Indiana and Michigan are to share in it, their state and local leaders and agencies should wake to the opportunity before it is too late.

## HISTORY

"**H**ISTORY is an invoice of a bill of goods acquired by purchase and inheritance from the past and offered to man in the market of the immediate and distant future," says Walter Prescott Webb writing in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

"The function of history, as I see it," he says, "is to describe and make understandable the forces which have shaped the destiny of man and brought him to the present time equipped as he now is with his ideas and institutions. Prehistoric man carried little baggage; present day man staggers under his load of ideas, institutions and tools which have been gathered slowly and painfully in the long march from *then* to *now*. History is the record of how, when and where man acquired this baggage which we call civilization."

He thinks this applies to all history, whether global, national, state, or local. "All of the worthy aims and high purposes stated for history are latent in these general principles."

The intelligent ranchman, he avers, is concerned with the pedigree of his stock. "History is the pedigree of our civilization and culture." History, he says, is the register of man's lineage, the record of his performance and the guarantee of his qualities.

"If what I have said is true," he adds, "then it should be quite clear why intelligent men and women are interested in history. They are interested for the same reason that a merchant is interested in the invoice, price and qualities of the goods placed on his shelves."

The teaching of the state's history in tax-supported schools would seem to be an obligation and an opportunity.



### THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The 37th annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Saint Louis on April 20-22 inclusive, 1944. Despite wartime conditions of travel, and the necessary absence from their usual occupations of many members of the Association, the attendance was gratifyingly large, and the annual meeting proved to be one of the most successful ever held by the Association.

In this brief notice no attempt can be made to list the many addresses or even to record the subject titles to which the various sessions were devoted. The theme of Dean Theodore C. Blegen's presidential address was "Our Widening Province." In it the speaker contrasted the present-day conception of the field of historical writing with the one prevalent in an earlier day, and presented some thoughtful suggestions for more adequate provision for the training of future historical workers.

An address by Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago on "America on the Eve of War, 1939-1941" served to refute the ancient idea that historians are concerned only with the remote past; while another, "Planning the History of World War II—the American Scene" by Shepard B. Clough of the Social Science Research Council served to emphasize their concern for the adequate recording of events still in the future. "She Laid Her Pistol Down; or the Last Will and Testament of Calamity Jane," by Clarence S. Paine of Beloit College related in lighter vein the speaker's gleanings in the career of this picturesque frontier character. An address of much interest which tended to shatter certain fondly-held conceptions concerning the "good old days" of our grandfathers was Prof. Philip D. Jordan's "The Stalwart Pioneer." From an extensive investigation into the physical ills of the pioneers and their treatment the speaker made it abundantly clear that our

pioneer forefathers were afflicted with physical ills to an appalling degree.

At the annual meeting of the Association held at Cedar Rapids in April, 1943, appointment was made of a Committee charged to investigate and report upon the status of the teaching of history in the schools and colleges of the United States, concerning which the newspapers of the country, following the lead of the *New York Times*, had expressed much concern. It need not be concealed that many teachers of history share in this concern—a matter for congratulation, since it evidences the existence of a keen feeling concerning the importance of the teaching of history to the rising generation. The Committee, cooperating with representatives of the American Historical Association, had prepared and published as a small volume a thorough-going report on the subject committed to it, and this report was made the theme of an earnest debate to which the evening session of April 21 was devoted; Professors Hesselstine of the University of Wisconsin, Knoles of Stanford, and Strayer of Princeton united in explaining and upholding the validity of the Committee's report. Prof. Barnhart of Indiana University took vigorous exception to its contents and character. The present writer would probably have voted for Prof. Barnhart's presentation, had the debate been a formal one; but the majority opinion of the audience seemed to side with the three upholders of the document. That the last word on the subject has not been said, however, seemed abundantly clear.

At the annual business meeting, held on April 21, Professor William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University was elected President of the Association for the ensuing year. The place of meeting for 1945, left to the discretion of the Executive Committee, has been subsequently fixed at Bloomington, Indiana. The invitation to the Association to meet at Detroit in 1946, the sesquicentennial of the coming of the American Flag and American rule to the Great Lakes, evoked no formal action, but acceptance of the invitation at the next annual meeting is

assured. Wisconsin, mindful of her approaching centennial year, put in her claim for the Association to meet at Madison in 1949.

At the Annual Business meeting on April 21, Milo M. Quaife, as Chairman of the Committee on the Territorial Papers of the United States, reported the success of its efforts to induce Congress to enact the current appropriation for the continuance of the enterprise during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1944. The Committee was continued, charged with the same general duty of convincing Congress of the value of this great enterprise, which is being conducted under the editorial direction of Dr. Clarence E. Carter and under the authority of the U. S. State Department. To date eleven volumes of indispensable source material have been issued, while six additional volumes are in varying stages of editorial advancement. Michigan readers should know that three massive volumes are devoted to the development of Michigan Territory, two of them already in print and the third now ready for the press. These books, which can be procured from the Superintendent of Documents at Washington, should be found in every public library in the State. They reveal, more fully than it has ever been known before, the story of our life as a Territory from 1805 to 1837. When the entire magnificent series of volumes concerning all the states which were once territories shall have been completed we will have in them a fundamental part of the story of how America grew from 13 states to 48, and how the Flag marched westward from the Alleghenies to the Pacific.—Reported by Dr. M. M. QUAIFFE, Secretary of the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, at the request of the editor of the Magazine.

## GATHERING LOCAL HISTORY IS FUN

BY ESTELLE L. BAYLISS

SEVERAL years ago my husband and I wrote a history of St. Joseph Island in St. Mary's River, an island whose charm has lured us to its pleasant shores for many happy summers. The book contained more than two hundred printed pages, many of which dealt with the island as known to the fur traders; the island's considerable part in the War of 1812; and some reference to a few of the earliest pioneers. Having gone thus far, we were impressed with the amount of material still ungathered and unrecorded, covering the people who, as pioneers of the seventies, eighties and nineties, were responsible for the development of the island from a wilderness on a remote frontier to one of the most progressive island communities to be found in all of America.

Who were these latter-day pioneers? What were their nationalities, who were their ancestors and from whence did they come? Why did they choose this tiny section of America? How did they travel, where did they settle, what other families did they find already established? What were the conditions as to roads, ferries, markets, schools, churches, stores, transportation to and from the mainland, and finally what have been the activities of these earliest settlers and their descendants?

It occurred to us that this information was worthy of gathering and recording. The decision to undertake the task was due perhaps to the fact that it was an island community with well-defined geographical limits, yet it is obvious that anyone with a like aspiration need not hesitate because the locality he is interested in is not surrounded by water.

Our first action was to prepare and have printed five hundred copies of a questionnaire. Those were apportioned among the chairmen of the seven local branches of the Women's Institute of Ontario, since one of the activities of this organization is the preservation of local history. The chairmen were requested to distribute the questionnaires among the older families or

their descendants in their several settlements. This procedure, however, met with doubtful success as less than ten per cent were returned to us. There were various reasons for this. Some lacked accurate information or records and, while intending to consult older or absent members of their families, put it off from time to time until finally the matter faded from their minds. Others were merely indifferent. Still others regarded us as inquisitive. But those who responded did so with every manifestation of whole-hearted desire to cooperate.

Now we could not allow our pet project to languish. We determined to make a personal house-to-house canvas. The result was most gratifying. Once admittance to a home had been gained and the purpose of the call had been explained, the desired information was gladly given whenever possible and in many cases with the addition of interesting anecdotes. There is nothing which pleases the older generation more than to relate tales of its youth to willing and appreciative listeners.

We interviewed one man who proved to be the great-great-grandson of Ezekiel Solomon, mentioned in "Northwest Passage" by Kenneth Roberts as an independent fur trader at Mackinaw who was captured by the Indians during the massacre of 1763 and was later ransomed at Montreal.

In support of oral information furnished us relative to their ancestors, one family produced a Bible printed in 1616 while another family showed us one printed in 1628. Both were well preserved and contained vital statistics of the respective families for more than three hundred years past.

Among those interviewed were descendants of some who had come to America to escape religious persecution, or some who came for adventure, of fur traders and voyageurs, ranging down to the pioneers themselves. The result is a combination of genealogy, biography, folklore and local history which should prove useful to future generations in quest of knowledge as to how their ancestors lived. It will also give a picture of those changes which take place imperceptibly and which distinguish one decade from another.

We feel that this is a useful work and we recommend it as a hobby for those who have the time and inclination to do something—not laborious nor too exacting—that may be of benefit to those who are to follow us in keeping alive the history of their respective localities. This is something that can be instituted in any community and we hope that others will engage in it. Our experience has proven that many lips which could have told so entertainingly of bygone days are now forever sealed. One so often hears the lament, “Why didn’t I write that down? Why did I trust my faulty memory?”

And so to those who are in the mood, we say: Do not delay. Gather the information while it is still available. Once gathered, write it or type it; and then if you do not intend to publish it, at least file it as a contribution to your library where it will be available.—From *The Detroit Club Woman*.

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### JUNIOR HISTORIAN

(In this department there will appear from time to time meritorious articles written by students in school and college on subjects in local history.—Ed.)

#### LIFE IN EARLY YPSILANTI

By Ruth Carole Bolton<sup>1</sup>

**H**ERE, where now our college stands, once roamed Indians—Chippewas, Potawatomis, Ottawas and Wyandottes. They have even left their mark on the road over which automobiles bound for the Bomber Plant rumble on the Potawatomi Trail, better known as Huron River Drive. According to legend, Ypsilanti was an area of peace—no tribe could fight against its enemy and all dwelt together in peace and harmony.

The wigwams of the Indians were made of bark; their bedding and clothing of skins; their utensils were of the simplest

<sup>1</sup>Miss Bolton is a junior in Michigan State Normal College and lives at Monroe, Michigan. She is preparing to teach in early elementary work. Her major is English and her minors are History and the general arts. The above paper was written for her class in Journalism.—Ed.

description. These pre-Ypsilantians dressed in loin-cloths, moccasins and bear-claw necklaces, gazed somberly out over the Huron River, totally unattentive to the screaming, splashing little red skins playing warrior in their birthday suits.

The happiness of the Indians was soon to come to an end, when three Frenchmen, Gabriel Godfroy, François Pepin, and Romaine La Chambre—seeking trade with the Indians, hit upon the crossing of the Huron River where the trails converged, as a logical location for trading posts.

In the spring of 1823, Benjamin Woodruff, ex-school teacher of Sandusky, Ohio, with his brother-in-law came *via* Monroe to Ypsilanti to what is now known as Woodruff Grove and started the first white settlement. They built crude log cabins and then went back to Ohio for their families.

After settling, cultivation of the soil was the major problem. With a plow, a cart, and an axe, they started to work clearing the forest and preparing the soil.

The Tuttles and the Grants were the next settlers to hew paths through the forest to the Grove. Their wagons of household necessities were always getting stuck in the mud and had to be pryed out with poles.

Mrs. Grant, when she looked down at the settlement of Ypsilanti, gave vent to her emotions by the usual feminine reaction—she wept.

The implements used were crude. The grist mill was very simple. It was the top of a smooth stump with holes burned into it. A spring board and a pole about six inches thick were used for pounding the grain. The noise could be heard for miles around. Woodruff built the first luxury, an oven made of stone and mud, in his back yard for baking. This was built for the celebration of the Fourth of July after the settlement was a year old.

Inside the rough dirt-floored cabin was a big stone fireplace. When the fire was out, a child could look up the chimney and see the stars. Over the fire hung the big iron kettle on a



crane. The odors from the kettle often filled the cabin with the appetizing smell of boiling venison.

The first church built in Ypsilanti was the Presbyterian. A young pastor from England, Reverend Ira M. Wead, was its first minister. In 1830 the first Congregational church was organized.

Transportation on the Huron was made in flat-bottomed boats that carried goods from Detroit. The boats were large enough to hold oxen and a wagon.

The first public schoolhouse west of the river was known as "The White School House." The building was a plain one-room structure. Here Chauncey Joslin taught in 1837.

The first Normal College building was built on the West side, with a swamp between the school and the town. College students were noted for their pranks and mischief making on the unsuspecting townspeople. So up on the hill was a good place for fresh air and fresh students, so the village fathers thought.

Today the milling crowds of Bomber workers, service men, college students and townspeople make a strange contrast with the Ypsilanti which the Indians and the pioneers knew. I wonder how the place will look 100 years from now.

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THE JUNIOR HISTORIAN, Vol. II, Number 1, published by the Pennsylvania Federation of Junior Historians has come to the Editor's desk, issued from the State Museum Building at Harrisburg. It is published "through the courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission four times during the school year." The Federation was organized at Harrisburg in April, 1942, includes membership from student history clubs of the public, parochial and private schools throughout the commonwealth, and its object is stated to be "to further the interest in state and local history." *The Junior Historian*, publishes the results of research conducted by the students with the help of their teachers. The Federation is reported to have "a

total membership of 142 club organizations, comprising a total student membership of 4000." Sample copy of *The Junior Historian* may be obtained by addressing Mrs. A. M. C. Cauley, Assistant State Historian, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

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#### BOY TRAVELER, 1866

As told by A. W. Wisner to Nina Hobart Cleveland

THE following pioneer story of a young Michigan boy who at the close of the Civil War set out to seek the Far West, well illustrates "the American way of life" and should interest our Junior readers, Mr. Wisner says:

As a boy of nine I adventured forth from Oceola, Michigan, to Portland, Oregon, to journey four months and a day, to experience the joys and hardships of the traveler on the Oregon Trail, and to see at journey's end the beauties and to taste the fruitfulness of the verdant Northwest. Father took as helper, Ed Hendricks, an ex-Civil War veteran and gave him his passage in return for his services. As far as Chicago pa and Ed rode with the freight and mother and I in a coach; but upon leaving Chicago, Ed took the freight to St. Joseph, Missouri. At St. Joe the men put the wagons together as soon as the freight arrived and we left the hotel and went into camp where were many oxen, horses, mules, cattle and able bodied men with their families.

Father bought food, including an over supply of bacon that he might sell part of it to the Oregonians! Mother had two bushels of toast in strong sacks. My parents were both forty-four at that time and left St. Joe alone, but 137 miles further on into Kansas picked up several other families from Illinois, Missouri and Michigan. Man and beast hardened daily to the rigors of the road.

To young Adrian (myself), the trip was mostly fun. There was the Morgan mare "Jinny," to ride close beside the wagon, and a six-shooter to wear. I had some knowledge of its use; if

the Indians attacked through the bad Indian areas I had to stay inside the wagon. We came into antelope country along the Platte river in Nebraska. It was fun to see Ed Hendricks—so recently a soldier of the Union—Ed with father's rifle of a special bore, with a sock holding bullets father had made, starting after antelope as soon as the train had halted and the wagons circled into night formation. Upon sighting an antelope in a favorable direction, Ed lay down with a red bandana fluttering above him at the end of a ramrod thrust into the ground. Curiosity brought the antelope nearer. Ed rarely came back to camp without meat. The sheet iron camp stove some of our fellow travelers had said we would throw away soon enough, and which all day had been carried on the rear endboard of the wagon, was up with its two lengths of pipe and a good fire of buffalo chips going. We ate many an antelope steak—a gastronomical treat. Ours was the only stove in the train. What meat we did not need we shared to be cooked over near by campfires. There were never less than thirty wagons. Ed must have been the best shot in the train, for few others went after game. One day I saw an antelope get up not fifty yards away. Captain Smith in the lead wagon got that one.

Our morning routine quickly ended in the hook-up and start. At one place we found a white man with a squaw for a wife. They had dug a shallow ditch across the trail and put a "bridge" across it. They charged each wagon \$2.50 to cross. We paid—for fear of what the squaw's Indian friends might do to us if we did not. The often deeply grooved trail took us up high hills only to take us down again on a slope so steep that a log fastened to the wagon was necessary for a brake. With great difficulty we crossed rivers. Once the train stopped on account of large hailstones. At another time in Kansas or Nebraska, because of high wind, all wagons were staked down.

In the middle of the wagon mother and often myself sat on a padded springless seat—the top of her two-drawer bureau which contained her treasured possessions.

Camp children had their fun as well as fears. I laughed at the speech of the little Missourians. I often heard them call one of their number, "O Joe!" But when I said, "Hello, Ojoe," the laugh was on me. Boy and girl romances budded among the older youths. The health of the party averaged very good, and personalities—odd, strong, weak, amusing, disciplined and undisciplined—emerged as we came to know one another better. Some new wagons joined, and some left to follow other trails. Father and Stewart Aikin were the only ones who did not have quarrels. The Aikin family had two wagons. So did some others. At one place a family of four, including a grown son and daughter waiting along the trail, were permitted to join the train. They had either left another train or had been turned out. Later, they turned toward California. Ed Hendricks left us in Montana and we never heard of him again. At Laramie, Wyoming, a family from Illinois joined us and the son broke his leg when he stepped out upon the doubletree of their moving wagon. They set his leg and made him as comfortable as possible and kept going. He later became a lawyer in Astoria, Oregon. One of the Aikin boys also became a lawyer there, and another a judge in the Superior Court of Oregon. Another boy in the train later owned so much land that he was accounted the richest man in Whitman county, Washington. The train set their time by my father's big watch—the only one that did not stop enroute.

At times appeared mute records of the trail. Graves with crude markers, or at other times wagon irons with ashes and charred wood telling of hostile Indian attacks.

One day an apparently friendly Indian took a fancy to a pretty white girl and offered to buy her. The girl's father did not realize the gravity of the situation and passed it off as a joke. The Indian returned with some horses, expecting to get the girl in trade. Our captain ordered all possible speed for a few days after. Whenever we could we made camp on Sundays that the animals might rest and that the women might wash. Finally, at one army post we were ordered to make no

Sunday stop, but to move with haste through hostile Indian country, which we did without mishap. Our mare had cast a shoe and split a hoof. Father, himself a blacksmith, was overjoyed to reach a post where there was a blacksmith shop. There he fitted a special shoe and the hoof healed so that his horse could take her turn at work again. As we neared the coast Indians offered salmon for sale. Pink fish! Mother would not let father buy any!

Four months and one day! Oregon! Land of promise! Only the free land was all gone. The oversupply of bacon was gone, too. Ravenous appetites of the trail had taken care of that. No matter! There was plenty of bacon in Oregon. Kindly settlers offered a house with a little furniture in it. "Just go down and move in. Your wife will be glad to live in a house again. It will not cost you anything. Later, when you are rested you can decide where you want to settle." The day after our arrival they came over with a wagon box half full of hand picked apples and we were not permitted to pay for them. The same with the plums. My mother started at once happily drying fruit. I was soon a little boy with a great big stomach ache. Reluctantly our neighbors let father pay two bits a month for pasturage of the animals.

Father was a good flour miller. He got a job at a mill at \$100.00 a month. We had a house to live in, a garden, a Jersey cow, and a school near by. Father bought me a wooly pup who grew to be my protector and constant companion.

In the spring of 1877, under Captain James Ewart, myself, along with about sixty other young men, took our own horses, rifles and blankets and went out to protect the settlements from the Indians for Joseph and his band were on the war path, and we knew not where he might strike. One of my neighbors had been one of the first to be killed by the Indians. We were sworn in by Governor E. P. Perry, of Washington Territory, in person and served all that summer.—From *Winners of the West*, May 28, 1943.

## LINCOLN VILLAGE

(The *Ludington Daily News* for March 13, 1944 carried the following article written by Miss Carrie E. Mears, daughter of Charles Mears, noted Michigan lumberman in the days "when Pine was king." The now "deserted village" of Lincoln was once the county seat of Mason County, linking the name of the Great Emancipator with that of the first governor of the State of Michigan, and it still lives in memory and tradition—Ed.)

MANY years ago my father, Charles Mears, had printed for use in his business correspondence, small yellow envelopes bearing on the reverse side a view of Lincoln Village, showing the three story boarding house, the big store, the grist and saw mills, the docks and lumber vessels.

Now of the village once the county seat, and the home of many of the early settlers of Mason County, there remain only the traces of the old road running up the hill; the lilac bush beside the sandy hollow where stood the boarding house; the apple trees bent and broken but still clinging to life; the rotting slabs and edgings of the former docks along the river; and on the lake shore, the row of piles which mark the location of the piers.

But the village still lives in the traditions and the memory of some of the older people and in the tales which they told to their children. I asked one of them why they seemed so attached to the memory of Lincoln. He said,

"Because it was a small community complete in itself—whatever went on, all were a part of it. If there were a death, the carpenter went to the ship, made a coffin, lined it with cloth; others laid out the body; a minister came from Pere Marquette and held a service. The women helped with the sick, among them, Mrs. Jennings, an English woman; while they used to say that Mrs. Valentine Yocky was the village doctor.

"No one had any money—had no use for it. There were no saloons. The store held a stock of everything the people might need. Each family had a small pass-book and when a

purchase was made, it was entered there and on the books of the store. Thus all were sure of food and clothing. Once a year, usually on June first, all accounts were settled, and the balance due was paid in cash."

About 1850 when my father started to build a mill and dam at this place, it was called "Black Creek." By 1854 the lake and settlement had come to be known as "Little Sauble" and the larger lake five miles farther north where he had also begun developments, as "Big Sauble."

By 1861 both had become thriving mill villages served by a fleet of craft which brought over from Chicago the barrels of flour, pork, and beef, the bushels of corn and oats, the prairie hay, the articles needed in the store; and returned to the city laden with the products of the mills. Foremost was the steam propeller "Charles Mears", built in a Cleveland ship yard in 1856. For years she made regular trips across the lake, carrying passengers and freight and, especially during the difficult war years, the mail and papers so eagerly awaited. There were the lumber schooners, *The Coral*, *The Mowery*, and others, and *The Blackhawk*, perhaps the best known of them all. She was a scow 42 feet long, a two master, square rigged. Some say she is the vessel shown at the right of the photograph.

My father was an enthusiastic admirer of Abraham Lincoln, had heard him speak at the Tremont House in Chicago, and had witnessed his nomination on May 18, 1860 in the Wigwam, that large frame building, 100 by 180 feet erected at Chicago for the convention. The Republican women of the city decorated the galleries and the platform with bunting and with entwined evergreens and flowers for the occasion, the Mears propeller bringing over loads of the evergreens from the Michigan woods.

And Mr. Mears went to Washington to witness the inauguration. So one can understand why, when he was a member of the Michigan State Senate in 1861, he was instrumental in having the names of these two lakes and villages in Mason County changed, the one from "Little Sauble" to "Lincoln" and



the other from "Big Sauble" to "Hamlin", (for Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, the vice president.)

In 1870 Lincoln was a busy and prosperous town. There was a large steam mill on the south end of the dam with a capacity of 25,000 to 40,000 feet of lumber and 20,000 lath per day.

By 1872 there were a number of new dwellings; there was a shingle mill, a siding mill, a grist mill and a bowl mill. The store carried a large stock, with as many as six clerks waiting on the trade. The country was becoming more settled. Yet it was in that year that the county seat moved to Ludington.

Then gradually through the years, the volume of business lessened as the timber was cut off. Later disaster struck the village when the dam went out sweeping away the shingle and grist mills.

In 1895, though many of the buildings still stood, they were gaunt and empty. In the store, pages of the old account books, some dating back to 1851, lay about the floor of the open vault, and were carried away as mementos by those who wandered about the "Deserted village."

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#### A NEW HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE Cleveland Public Library is sponsoring the organization of a corporation, not for profit, to be known as The Great Lakes Historical Society.

Its objectives will be to:

1. Promote interest in discovering and preserving material on the Great Lakes and the Great Lakes area of the United States and Canada.
2. Collect books, documents, records and objects relating to the history, geography, geology, commerce and folklore of the Great Lakes.
3. Centralize information regarding such collections through the cooperative efforts of local historical societies and libraries throughout this area.

4. Sponsor an inclusive bibliography or finding list of materials on Great Lakes history: historical material is scattered over the entire area and is to be found in public, private and college libraries; in historical societies and religious institutions of the United States and Canada.

5. Publish a magazine or bulletin which would contain articles and memoranda pertinent to the interests of The Great Lakes Historical Society and those interested in the history and commerce of the Great Lakes.

The Great Lakes area is the richest in the world, with a fascinating and romantic history. The Society should stimulate public appreciation of the courage, enterprise and sacrifice of our people who built up this great region.

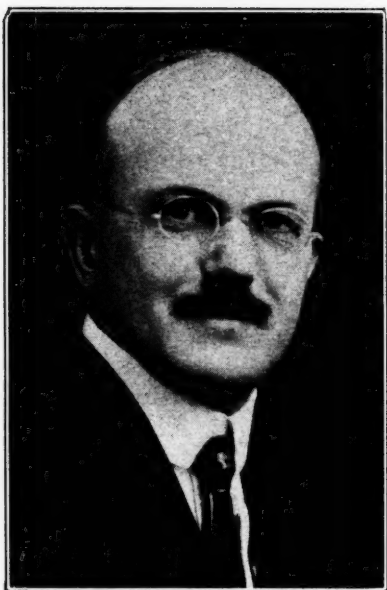
It is proposed that the annual membership fees of the Society be used to publish a bulletin reporting unusual facts about the Lakes, data about the Society and its activities, and other information of interest to shipping companies and those associated with the Lakes. Sustaining membership fees, together with donations, will be applied toward the expense of cataloging and publishing the bibliography mentioned above.

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#### PROFESSOR CHASE RETIRES

(The *Daily Mining Journal* (Marquette) for March 1, 1944 carried the following announcement of the prospective retirement of Prof. Lew Allen Chase, teacher, author, and former president of the Michigan Historical Commission and of the Michigan State Historical Society.—Ed.)

**P**ROFESSOR Lew Allen Chase, A.B., A.M., head of the department of social sciences at Northern Michigan College of Education, has just announced that he plans to retire at the end of the 1944 summer session. His retirement is to be effective September first this year. The announcement comes as a surprise to his students and colleagues, and to his hosts of friends who are to be found in all sections of the United States.



Lew Allen Chase

Professor Chase is probably the best known national figure on Northern's faculty because of the books he has written, the numerous magazine articles which he has produced, and his membership in many historical societies. Authors of recent books dealing with the Upper Peninsula have obtained much of their historical material from him. He has frequently been asked to check such books while still in manuscript form, to correct errors of fact. Henry Ford was one of his many visitors who wished to learn facts about the history of the Peninsula.

Mr. Chase's retirement will be especially felt because he epitomizes the scholastic ideals of Northern: careful checking of all material, checking and re-checking of all known facts, drawing only logical and justified inferences, and above all, thoroughness in scholarship. His particular field is American History, and his specialty is the history of Michigan. Two of his books, *Rural Michigan*, published by the Macmillan Co., and *The Government of Michigan*, published by Scribners, are standard textbooks in their fields, and may be found in the school library, as well as in Peter White library here.

His membership in professional organizations includes twelve years of service on the Michigan Historical Commission, of which he was president for one term. Members of this commission are appointed by the governor of the state. He has also been a member of the Michigan State Historical Society for many years, serving a term as president, and acting at present as a member of its board of directors. He is also a member of the American Historical Association, the Political Science Association, and the Agricultural History Society. In 1926 he was chosen president of the Michigan Academy of Science. He holds membership in numerous other professional, educational, and fraternal organizations.

Numerous magazine and newspaper articles attest to Professor Chase's keen and abiding interest in all phases of history. One of his first important historical articles, *The Search for the Alabama*, was published in the *Sewanee Review*, July

1910. A fellow contributor in this issue of the *Sewanee Review* was Brander Mathews. The *New York Times* has often published letters by Mr. Chase, especially letters written to correct errors in historical facts that had appeared in the paper's columns.

Some of Mr. Chase's acquaintances may not be aware that he is an authority on music. He taught music for four years, and at one time considered making his career in that field. He is a proficient performer on the piano, and has a vast symphonic library of records. While at Northern he has always served on the Lyceum Committee because his judgment of musicianship is very keen. He is an omniverous "reader" of the classics furnished by the Library of Congress on recording machines.

Lew Allen Chase was born in 1879 in Elsie, Clinton Co., Michigan. His early struggles for an education were handicapped because he was born with a visual defect which made him practically blind. Nothing daunted, he learned all his material from the grades through the university of having various people read assignments aloud to him. He graduated from the Michigan School for the Blind at Lansing in 1901. At that time the University of Michigan did not recognize the credits of that school for college entrance, so he concurrently attended Lansing High School, and won his diploma there, also in 1901.

He then went to work tuning pianos and teaching music, activities that he could carry on in spite of his handicap. In 1903 he married Charlotte Pearce, who became his reader, and encouraged him to finish his work. Mrs. Chase read lecture notes and textbooks to her husband, so that he was able to carry on his college work with success, in fact, with distinction. After his graduation he became superintendent of schools at Coloma, Michigan, for one year and then taught for a year at the Kansas College of Agriculture in Manhattan.

He then returned to the University of Michigan for his M.A., and from there went to Hancock, Michigan, to teach history in the high school there. After three years at Hancock he took the history position at Houghton High School. Here he taught

for five years and then was called to Northern, in 1919. He was head of the history department at Northern until 1940, when the social sciences were grouped into one department. Mr. Chase has headed that department since 1940.

While Mr. Chase is a vigorous man in perfect health, a physical difficulty is what led to his decision to retire. During the last few years his eyes have become increasingly sensitive to light and the reflection of light from the snow has caused him almost unbearable pain. For that reason he plans to spend next winter in Florida, but will continue to spend his summers in Marquette.

The Chases have one son, George, who attended Northern, and later graduated from the University of Michigan. At present the son lives in Chicago, where Mr. and Mrs. Chase plan to spend some of their time.

Mr. Chase is looking forward to sufficient leisure time to prepare historical studies for publication, and will continue to devote time and effort to the Marquette Historical Society, of which he has long been an important member.

That students and fellow faculty members will regret Mr. Chase's retirement and will miss his help and guidance is a foregone conclusion. The educational world of Michigan, and especially of the Upper Peninsula, will miss a scholar whose exacting ideals of scholarship have helped to shape the careers of thousands of present day teachers, and through them, of untold numbers of pupils in the schools of Michigan and elsewhere. At the University of Michigan, where he lectured in American history in 1926, and at the University of North Carolina, where he engaged in research work his influence also made itself felt.

Biographical data on the career of Professor Chase can be found in numerous reference works. *The Centennial History of Michigan* by Fuller gives an account of his life. He is also mentioned in the *Michigan's Who's Who* and in the *Authors' Who's Who*.

## ADRIAN COLLEGE CENTENNIAL

“**A**DRIAN College is to be one hundred years old in 1945,” writes President Samuel J. Harrison in a letter to the editor. “Looking toward that event” he says, “we have organized what we call the Committee of One Hundred. As a part of the work of the Committee of One Hundred we now have a sub-committee writing the history of Adrian College for this one hundred year period. Of course, in that connection they are considering Adrian in relationship to all other educational institutions.”

Dr. Harrison mentions that the department of Education at Adrian gives a course on Public Education in Michigan which treats of this problem historically and functionally. In the department of History, he says, Adrian gives two courses on American History before 1860 in which Michigan figures as a part of the National history. In Political Science, Adrian gives a course on American Government and another on Local Government in which Michigan is given considerable attention, Dr. Harrison reports as among the items of interest at Adrian from the standpoint of Michigan history.

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MUSEUM NOTES

**T**HE *Quarterly* of the Midwest Museums Conference for April, 1944, (Dr. Robert T. Hatt, Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, President), contains a brief report from Dr. Hatt; a note from John Haven Geer, Children's Museum, Detroit; and a brief item from Miss Geneva Smithe, University Museums, Ann Arbor. Similar reports appear from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa.

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“Something About the State Historical Museum” is the title of a pamphlet recently issued by the Michigan Historical Commission, describing Indian, prehistoric and pioneer relics, and



various objects illustrating the early history of Michigan. Copy may be obtained by addressing a postcard to the Commission at Lansing.

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Mrs. Gwen Matthew, writing in the *State Journal* (Lansing) describes an interesting discovery made in the basement of the City Hall Annex by the janitor, Mr. George Jakovac—a walnut sideboard long stored there, containing “treasure in the form of a silver ice water pitcher with the word ‘Michigan’ engraved on the cover, goblets, a tray and water dish, together with papers which were the property of former Governor Sleeper.” The sideboard proved to be part of a dining room suite constructed by a Saginaw firm for state display at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. Director C. J. Sherman of the State Museum made the identification, and since then other articles have been added. The ensemble is now on display in the State Historical Museum, at 505 N. Washington Avenue, Lansing.

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One of the most generous contributors to the Ironwood historical collection is George Curry of Ironwood. This past week we received from him the landbook or manual used by his father, S. S. Curry, in 1875 when the senior Mr. Curry was a representative in the Michigan legislature. The manual consists of 500 pages, and the contents include such interesting information as historical data on United States and Michigan government, and biographies of statesmen. Every member of the Michigan legislature autographed the book.

George Curry also presented The Times with a three-dollar bill dated December 10, 1872. It looks like paper money, and in those days it served that purpose. It represents three dollars in money used by the Cascade Iron Company, of Negaunee, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pa. The bill is made payable to John L. Agnew.—From the *Ironwood Times*, May 3, 1944.

NOTES FROM THE STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY NEWS  
PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR  
STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

**Maryland Historical Society Centennial**

**T**HE Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, became a hundred years old on January 27, and will continue to celebrate the anniversary throughout the year. A series of events has been planned to mark the occasion, including special exhibits, lectures, and the publication of a handbook. The Society, under the guidance of its new Director, James W. Foster, has, during the past fifteen months, increased its membership forty per cent, added to the staff, and started the rearrangement and indexing of its manuscript and museum materials.

A major feature of the Centennial is the restoration of the drawing rooms of the Pratt House (built in 1847)—the Society's home since 1919—to represent a Maryland Parlour and Dining Room as they might have been a century ago. From the various collections the finest items were selected to furnish the rooms in a manner representative of the period during which the Society was founded and the house was built. The many pieces of early nineteenth century furniture, china, glass, silver, and ornament suggest the continuity of Baltimore's social history. The restored rooms were opened on the evening of February 21 at a special Centennial Meeting attended by 800 people. Judge Samuel K. Dennis gave a brief account of the history of the Society, and Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, spoke on "The Use of Radio in the Presentation of History."

A program of afternoon lectures on "Useful and Decorative Arts of Maryland"—illustrated talks on eighteenth and nineteenth century homes and furnishings—has been in progress during February and March. A special exhibition of articles and manuscripts illustrating the history of the Society is on view. The portraits of many of the founders, all prominent

business and professional men of Baltimore, are hung in the Library. Supplementary exhibits were shown in windows at the Enoch Pratt Free Library and at down town stores. The handbook, containing a history of the activities of the first century and descriptions of the Society's collections, will be issued later in the year.

The Society extends a cordial invitation to all friends and scholars who may be in the neighborhood to visit its home and see the beginning of its second hundred years of service.

### **Columbia Historical Society—50 Years Old**

The Columbia Historical Society, Washington, attained its fiftieth birthday on March 9, and it plans to celebrate the golden anniversary some time in April. Founded by a group of distinguished men and one woman, the Society has had as its purpose "the collection, preservation and diffusion of knowledge respecting the history and topography of the District of Columbia and national history and biography." More than forty volumes of annual proceedings have preserved a great amount of rare and useful material. Some of the outstanding articles are cited in an article by John Clagett Proctor in *The Sunday Star* (Washington) for January 30.

The Society recently elected officers as follows: F. Regis Noel, president; Wade H. Ellis, first vice-president; Charles Carroll Glover, Jr., second vice-president; Newman F. McGirr, recording secretary and curator; Mrs. McCeney Werlich, corresponding secretary; Victor B. Beyber, treasurer; John Clagett Proctor, chronicler; and Dr. Charles O. Paullin, editor. A letter from Theodore W. Noyes, editor of *The Star*, and sole living founder, was read at the meeting.

### **Meetings**

The University of Cincinnati celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Cincinnati Observatory on November 5. A special volume of addresses and important material will be issued by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

The Louisiana Historical Society met on December 20 to celebrate the 140th anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase. Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox spoke on "Trailways to the Momentous Transfer." On January 8, the Society held its annual banquet in commemoration of the Battle of New Orleans. The monthly meeting on January 25 featured an historical symposium on the topic, "129 Years of Peace between the Peoples of English Speech."

The Manchester Historical Association, Manchester, N. H., held its annual meeting on January 19, with an address on "The Four Freedoms" by J. Walker Wiggin. A number of important accessions were reported, including relics of Gen. Joseph Cilley and Brig. Gen. Enoch Poore, and a large collection of Indian items. Officers elected include: Frank W. Sargeant, president; Fred W. Lamb, secretary and director; and Harry M. Bickford, treasurer.

The Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, at a meeting on January 27, reelected officers as follows: Robert L. Williams, president; Emma Estill-Harbour, vice-president; James W. Moffitt, secretary; Grant Foreman, director of historical research.

A meeting of the American Military Institute took place at the Cosmos Club, Washington, on February 25. Major Jesse S. Douglas, of the Historical Branch, G-2, spoke on "Let History Arm the Mind," and Dr. Shepard B. Clough, secretary of the Committee on War Studies of the Social Science Research Council, spoke on "Planning Studies of American Experience in World War II."

#### **Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation**

The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Philadelphia, is performing a valuable service in collecting and publishing information about the Germans in America. Its biggest project is the Subject Union Catalogue, an analysis of books and articles, which will serve as a guide to a vast amount of rare and

little-known material. At the last report, in October, there were on hand 46,000 cards representing 13,000 titles.

To show the practical use of the subject arrangement, the Foundation plans to publish short bibliographies in its field of interest. Already in print are two items: "The Muhlenberg Family" and "Christopher Sower, Sr.," and a third, "Ephrata," is in press. The Foundation issues the bi-monthly *American-German Review*, an illustrated magazine with considerable appeal. Recently started is the Research Department *Bulletin*, an informal news letter about research in progress, which is intended to provide a means for the exchange of data and opinions.

The third annual meeting of the Institute of Pennsylvania-German Studies was held at the Foundation on February 5. The major part of the program was devoted to three papers: "Pennsylvania Germans in World War II," by Dr. Arthur D. Graeff; "Benjamin Franklin as a Printer," by Elizabeth Connelly; and "Christopher Sower," by Dr. Elmer E. S. Johnson. Emphasis was placed on Sower, to mark the bicentenary of his Bible, and there was a large exhibition of Sower imprints.

The Foundation headquarters are at 420 Chestnut Street, in the building which was formerly the Second Bank of the United States. Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas is Executive Director, and Felix Reichmann is Librarian.

### War Records Work

The Association's Committee on State and Local War Records, of which Dr. Lester J. Cappon is chairman, has received from the Social Science Research Council a grant for promotional work on behalf of the various state projects engaged in the collection and preservation of state and local war records. Field trips, as well as correspondence and occasional reports of progress, are among the activities of the Committee. The first number of a mimeographed circular, "The War Records Collector," will be issued in the near future and widely distributed. Each number will include news notes from the proj-

ects and an article on some special problem or phase of the war records work.

The War History Commission at Indiana University is endeavoring to collect complete files of the newspapers and magazines published by the camps of the armed forces and of the ordnance plants in Indiana.

Each issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a portion of Juliet M. Gross' "Missouri and the War." This is a running account of all phases of activity undertaken by Missourians in connection with the war and provides rough notes for a full history of Missouri's part in the current conflict.

### Pennsylvania Projects

Two interesting activities in Pennsylvania have received attention recently. One is the Mifflin County Annual High School Historical Examination, sponsored jointly by the Mifflin County Historical Society, the Kishacoquillas Chapter of the D.A.R., and the Juanita Chapter of the S.A.R. The contest was open to pupils in the three upper classes of eight specified high schools, and the examination was based on material in articles in the *Lewiston Sentinel*, at least two columns appearing each week for a period of five weeks. Prizes were offered for the highest scores in each school and for the best papers in the county. Previous experience showed that in some schools the use of the newspaper clippings as part of the regular assignments in American History brought about satisfactory results. The whole scheme is an improvement on the old-fashioned type of essay contest and might well be copied in other parts of the country.

The other project is the state-wide contest for scrapbooks dealing with the history of the present war. The scrapbooks are to be built around the subject, "Our Community at War," and each school in the state may submit a completed volume. The winning scrapbook in each county, as judged by the County War Finance Committee, will be entered in the state



contest. Prizes will be awarded by *The Saturday Evening Post*, of Philadelphia. The project is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, and the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies. A slender manual, prepared by S. K. Stevens, State Historian, states the rules of the contest and gives points to be followed in the compilation of the scrapbooks.

### Reading and Reference

"History as a Living Force," by Christopher Crittenden. *The Social Studies*, January, 1944. Address delivered before the Pennsylvania Historical Association at Harrisburg last October.

"Advantages of a County Historical Society." *Indiana History Bulletin*, December, 1943.

"A Practical Method of Preserving Historical Records," by Elsie M. Murray, *Western Ontario Historical Notes*, September, 1943. Tells about the activities of Dr. Seaborn, of London, who devotes his spare time to unearthing and copying early documents.

"Problems in Lighting the New York Historical Society," by Alexander J. Wall, Jr. *The Museum News*, October 15, 1943.

"Sources for Indiana Genealogical Research," by Caroline Dunn. *Indiana Magazine of History*, December, 1943. A brief account of sixteen different sources of information—useful guide for any region.

"Illinois Journalists and Local History," by Ernest E. East. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, December, 1943. Interesting description of newspaper columns devoted to historical material.

"Some Historic Markers in Iowa," comp. by Susie Webb Wright. *Iowa Monographic Series*, No. 8 (Iowa City, 1943). A discussion of historical markers in the state, arranged alphabetically by localities.

"A proposed Program of Research in Pacific Northwest History," by Charles M. Gates. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Jan-



uary, 1944. An interesting survey of possibilities, with suggestions as to the methods to be used.

*Proceedings of the Clarke County Historical Association* (Berryville, Va.), Vol. III, 1943. Emphasizes the progress made with the splendid collection of photographs of Virginia portraits.

*Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society* (Charlottesville, Va.), Vol. III, 1942-43.

"The War Record of American Jewry in the Second World War." *Jewish Welfare Board Bulletin of Information*, Report No. 2. Describes the work of the Bureau of War Records.

### Museums and Exhibits

The Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, opened its restored East India Marine Hall on the afternoon of November 4, with exercises in which Governor Salstonstall and Mayor Coffee of Salem took part. The hall has been restored as nearly as possible to its appearance in 1825, the year in which it was dedicated by President John Quincy Adams as headquarters of the East India Marine Society.

The formal opening of the Michigan Historical Museum, Lansing, took place on February 8.

The Kansas City Museum, Kansas City, Missouri, has made two of its galleries into a Kansas City Hall of Memories. Exhibits relate to the local pioneers, including surveyors' instruments, issues of an early paper, and photographs.

The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio, has announced plans for the erection of a research laboratory and industrial museum on an 11-acre tract formerly used as a circus ground.

The Museum of Costume Art, New York City, is planning a travelling exhibition of fashions of the seven American war periods—Revolutionary, 1812, Mexican, Civil, Spanish, and World Wars I and II. Two representative costumes of each period will be shown against an appropriate historical background.

The Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, has completed a rearrangement of exhibits in three large rooms and a balcony of a wing of its building. The exhibits relate to the participation of Missouri in the War with Mexico, the Civil and Spanish-American Wars, and World War I. The rearrangement of other collections is now under way.

The Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia, as a part of its permanent exhibition, "Benjamin Franklin, Citizen," is devoting a room to Franklin's contributions to Philadelphia.

The Museum of the City of New York has been showing an exhibit, "Fun and Folly in New York," which illustrates aspects of New York City life between 1870 and 1900. There is a scene suggesting an elaborate fancy dress ball of the 1890's (with costumes worn at balls of the period), a rural group showing a picnic party along the East River about 1870, etc.

A permanent exhibit of ancient vehicles and different types of early farm machinery is planned by the Bureau County (Illinois) Historical Society. The display will be housed in a building on the fairgrounds at Princeton, and will include old buggies, sleighs, and wagons, as well as plows, reapers, cultivators, corn planters, and mowers.

"The Story of Our Army," a series of photographic enlargements illustrating the story of the American Army, has been hung on the walls of the Visitors' Corridor in the War Department's new Pentagon Building across the Potomac River from Washington. The pictures were selected and arranged by Mrs. Johnson Garrett, member of the staff of the Baltimore (Maryland) Museum of Art, and were exhibited there for a brief period before installation in their permanent location.

### Here and There

A documentary film, "Eighteenth Century Life in Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia," has been completed by the Eastman Kodak Company in cooperation with Colonial Williamsburg. The Kodachrome picture portrays a day in the life of some Williamsburg citizens, centering around the activities of a

cabinet maker and his family. It is available without charge for single showings by organized groups, by application to the Informational Films Division, Eastman Kodak Company, 343 State Street, Rochester 4, N. Y.

The Society for Establishing Useful Manufacturers, the oldest industrial corporation in the United States (chartered 1791), Paterson, New Jersey, is in process of liquidation. Its records will be placed in the Paterson Museum, and the City of Paterson will acquire the real estate.

The Milwaukee Turners celebrated their 90th anniversary in October. This organization, founded during the mid-nineteenth century upsurge of the people seeking political rights, has enriched the cultural life of Milwaukee through the interest of its members in art, music, literature, and science.

Whitney R. Cross, Curator of the Collection of Regional History at Cornell University, has issued a four-page report on the progress of the collection since its establishment in October, 1942. He comments on the value of the materials gathered, outlines the types of "desirable records," and lists the principal manuscripts and newspaper files on hand. A business reply card is enclosed, so that those who know where manuscripts or papers are located may give Mr. Cross leads.

The Hanover College Library, Indiana, has received an endowment of \$2,500, which is to be used to establish the I. M. Bridgman Library of Indiana History.

The Missouri Historical Society, Columbia, issues weekly feature articles on phases of the state's history. Subjects of recent releases cover such different fields as river songs, Fourth of July celebrations, hearty eating and primitive drama on the frontier, the early peddler, and the historical background of Missouri constitutional conventions.

A meeting of the commission to purchase and preserve the Zebulon B. Vance home in Statesville, North Carolina, was held on February 9. Progress was reported, particularly the cooperation of the U.D.C. and a gift of \$500 from the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company at Wilmington.

### Food For Thought

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, is conducting a series of popular lectures during the current season. These Members' Evenings are in response to suggestions from members, and the program includes talks on such varied topics as vitamins, early Ohio homes, color photography in Ohio, aeroplane identification, and adventures in Brazilian jungles.

The same group has an Educational Program designed to serve all the schools of the state. There are classes for grade-school students, illustrated talks at various levels, radio dramatizations, a loan service of visual aids, and special guide service for visiting groups.

The Editor of *Michigan History*, George N. Fuller, is compiling a list of local authorities on the history of his state, so that research workers may be able to write directly for information desired concerning a given community. It is planned to record the name of the county, the name of the person, and the address where he may be reached. This is an idea which might prove advantageous to other states.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for September, 1943, contains a suggestive note on the place of local historical societies in determining and recording the accurate origin of place names.

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**T**HE QUARTO, "prepared in the interests of book collecting at the University of Michigan", has appeared for February and April, 1944, being numbers 5 and 6. No. 5 is devoted to the Law Library, "the largest law library west of the Atlantic seaboard". No. 6 contains sundry notes on literary topics.

Among the items in No. 5 we find one on "The Cass Code," which reads as follows:

"Seconds" are sometimes more highly prized than "firsts," as all collectors know. The first compilation of Michigan laws was made by Judge Woodward and published in Washington

in 1806, as you can see in the Law Library. However, the staff shows a pardonable preference for the second compilation, printed in Detroit in 1816 by Theophilus Mettez. So insufficient were "the funds at the disposition of the Territorial Government" that the book contains only eight laws in full, a digest of 56 more, and the titles of eight. Because it was printed during Gov. Lewis Cass' administration, it is called the Cass Code.

The Law Library has three copies of this code, and the General Library one copy. Of the former, one copy was the gift of Judge J. H. Steere; another bears the autographs of Melvin Dorr, clerk of the Territory's Supreme Court (1820-22), and of Daniel Goodwin, prominent attorney in Michigan from 1825 to 1888. The third copy is in manuscript, having been copied off by Judge T. M. Cooley, supposedly from the printed copy owned by Judge Steere. The copy in the General Library formerly belonged to Alpheus Felch and bears his autograph. Felch was first a regent of the University, then governor of the state, a United States senator, and finally a professor of law here.

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Extended reports (1942-1943) of the William L. Clements Library and of the University historical collections house in the Rackham Building at Ann Arbor are contained in President Ruthven's Report for 1942-43, University of Michigan.

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#### NOTES CONCERNING THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

**R**ECORDS relating to military affairs now constitute over a third of the records in the National Archives. They were greatly increased recently by the transfer from The Adjutant General's Office of records of the War Department and the Army, 1912-22, primarily for the period of the first World War, including general Departmental files; records of the American Section of the Supreme War Council; records of the American Expeditionary Forces, among which are records of

AEF General Headquarters, AEF Services of Supply Headquarters at Paris and Tours, and the First, Second, and Third Armies; and records of the Polish Relief, the North Russia, and the Mexican Punitive Expeditions. A microfilm copy of a calendar prepared by the Historical Branch of the Army War College of some 30,000 documents in the files of the War Department relating to the first World War, 1917-19, was also received. Other accessions from the Department include records of Headquarters of the Departments of the Platte and the Missouri and of the Fort Omaha Quartermaster, 1866-1919; records relating to the Military Academy at West Point, 1867-1904; correspondence of the Engineer Chief's Office, 1894-1923, and maps, 1880-1942, of the Army Map Service of that Office; and records of general courts martial, 1930-38.

Of note among other accessions are records of the Spanish regime in Puerto Rico, 1750-1898, transferred from the Library of Congress; records of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1789-1926; records of the Washington office of the Panama Canal, including records of the Maritime Canal Company, the Nicaragua Canal Commission, and the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1897-1901; general correspondence, 1912-25, of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Navy Department; and general files, 1914-37, of the Bureau of Prisons, Justice Department.

Among a number of studies now being made at the National Archives to obtain adequate data for postwar planning is a survey of medical records of the Federal Government designed to determine what types or groups of records are essential to future medical research and accordingly what should be preserved. This study is a joint venture of the Division of Medical Sciences of the National Research Council and of the National Archives and is being financed with a grant from The John and Mary R. Markle Foundation. The survey is being conducted by personnel of the National Archives under the general direction of the Archivist. An advisory committee composed of representatives of several agencies of the Government and private medical authorities, with Dr. George W. Corner of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, as chairman, will make recommendations, based on the survey, to the Archivist and the National Research Council.

One of the recent publications of the National Archives is *The National Archives—What It Is and What It Does*. Copies are available upon request so long as the supply lasts.



NOTES CONCERNING THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY AT  
HYDE PARK, N. Y.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT recently presented to the Library a small but interesting group of papers relating to his conference with Prime Minister Winston Churchill at Quebec in August 1943. They consist of maps, railway time schedules, itineraries, guest lists, and memoranda of arrangements and protocol. The President also furnished a number of similar items relating to his vacation on the Great Lakes from July 31 to August 8, 1943. Other papers received include a series of seven scrapbooks covering all formal and informal social functions held in the White House from March 4, 1933, to August 15, 1940. These volumes, which were compiled by the Office of the Chief of Social Entertainments of the White House, contain guest lists, invitations, cards of admission, programs, menus, place cards, seating charts, newspaper clippings, and notes and memoranda concerning the arranging of functions.

The President has also given to the Library a considerable number of ship models, war relics, and art and museum objects. Among them are two silhouettes of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson made from life by the great silhouettist, Jean Millette. The one of Washington bears the signature of the artist, and the inscription: "Comm'dr Washington made at Trent'n Jersey June 1777." The one of Jefferson, made at Philadelphia in June 1789, is also signed and inscribed. Also of special interest is an elaborately wrought jewelled sword and scabbard recently given to the President by King Ibn-Saud of Saudi Arabia. Gifts to the Library from donors other than the President include a series of twenty framed charcoal portraits of United States naval and military leaders of the present war made from life by Bernard Godwin and presented by Henry Schaffer of New York.

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Records Administration circulars 6 and 7 have been received from The National Archives; the former, by Don B. Cook, deals with "Records Problems and Policies in the Dismantling of the United States Fuel Administration" after the first World War; the second, by Vernon G. Setzer, is titled, "Can the War History Projects Contribute to the Solution of Federal Records Problems?" In these papers it is clearly shown that the experience of the emergency agencies of a World War furnish lessons worthy of study when the Nation engages again in a major international conflict. Here the records become of major importance.



## SELECTED ARTICLES FROM OUR EXCHANGES

*American Historical Review*, January, 1944: "Public Records Under Military Occupation," by Ernst Posner.—April: "The National Archives Faces the Future," by Edward G. Campbell.

*Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1944: "The Problem of Public and Historical Records in Canada," by George W. Brown.

*Catholic Historical Review*, January, 1944: "American Travellers in Rome, 1848-1850," by Howard R. Marraro.—April: "Bishop Flaget's Pastoral to the People of Detroit," by Thomas T. McAvoy.

*Colorado Magazine*, March, 1944: "Early Days in the San Luis Valley," as told by William A. Braiden to Irma S. Harvey.

*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, March, 1944: "The Middle Western Historical Novel," by John T. Flanagan.

*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, April, 1944: "The Czechs in Cedar Rapids," by Martha Eleanor Griffith.

*Annals of Iowa*, April, 1944: "Indian Burials of Potawatomi County," by O. J. Pruitt; "An Historic Indian Agency," by Richard C. Leggett.

*The Palimpsest* (Iowa Historical Society), March, 1944: "The Founding of Iowa College," by Clarence R. Aurner.—May: "Iowa in 1844," by J. A. Swisher.

*Journal of Politics*, February, 1944: "Freedom of the Seas: 1917, 1941," by Edward H. Buehrig.

*Journal of Southern History*, February, 1944: "Three Centuries of Southern Records, 1607-1907," by J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton; "The Southern Brigade: A Sidelight on the British Military Establishment in America, 1763-1775," by Charles L. Mowat.

Kentucky State Historical Society *Register*, January, 1944: "M memoir of Lexington and Its Vicinity," by William Leavy.—April: "A Bibliography of Early Western Travel in Kentucky, 1674-1824," by Willard Rouse Jillson.

*Filson Club Historical Quarterly* (Kentucky), January, 1944: "An Early Project to Establish a Province of Georgia in the Region now Known as Kentucky," by Douglas C. McMurtrie.—April: "List of Master of Arts Theses on Kentucky History in the University of Louisville," by William C. Mal-lalieu.

*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, January, 1944: "The Romance of American Courts. Gaines vs. New Orleans," by the late Perry Scott Rader.—April: "Trailways to the Momentous Transfer," by Isaac Joslin Cox.

*Maryland Historical Magazine*, March, 1944: "A Brief Summary of the Maryland Historical Society's Hundred Years," by Samuel K. Dennis.

*Mid-America*, January, 1944: "Cadillac's Early Years in America," by Jean Delanglez.—April: "Claude Dablon, S. J. (1619-1697)," by Jean Delanglez.

*Minnesota History*, March, 1944: "The Minnesota Historical Society in 1943," by Lewis Beeson; "The 1944 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society," "Minnesota History and the Schools," by Leslie E. Westin.

*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1944: "Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*: Some Unpublished Letters," by George B. Utley.

*Journal of Mississippi History*, April, 1944: "The Location of the Historic Natchez Villages," by Andrew C. Albrecht; "The Life of a Southern Plantation Owner During Reconstruction, as Revealed in the Clay Sharkey Papers," by George C. Osborn.

*Missouri Historical Review*, April, 1944: "The Missourian and Ten of His Outstanding Representatives," by Floyd C. Shoemaker; "Diseases, Drugs, and Doctors on the Oregon-California Trail in the Gold Rush Years," by Georgia Willis Read; "Missouri and the War," by Dorothy Dysart Flynn.

*New Mexico Historical Review*, January, 1944: "New Mexico's Wartime Food Problems, 1917-1918: II (concl.)," by Geo. Winston Smith.—*April*: "The Adobe Palace," by Clinton P. Anderson; "New Mexico's Constitution in the Making—Reminiscences of 1910," by Thomas J. Mabry.

*New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, April, 1944: "Sunken Treasure and the Hussar", by George A. Zabriskie; "An Early Iowa Playwright", by Oscar Wegelin; "A Small Nation in a Great War," by Hon. Thor Thors; "The Nathaniel Prime Mansion", by Dorothy C. Barck.

*North Carolina Historical Review*, January, 1944: "The Formative Years of the North Carolina Board of Health, 1877-1893," by Jane Zimmerman.—*April*: "North Carolina Bibliography, 1942-1943," by Mary Lindsay Thornton.

*North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, January-April, 1944: "The Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota," by George F. Will and Thad. C. Hecker.

*Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, January-March, 1944: "The Influence of New England in Denominational Colleges in the Northwest, 1830-1860," by E. Kidd Lockard; "William Dean Howells and the Ashtabula Sentinel," by Edwin Harrison Cady; "America's First Woman Mayor," by Alfred Hewetson Mitchell.—*April-June*: "Trailing Adam's Ancestors," by Henry C. Shetrone; "Place-Names in Franklin County, Ohio," by W. Edson Richmond.

*Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, January, 1944: "Northwestern Ohio a Hundred Years Ago," by Francis P. Weisenburger.—*April*: "Fort Miamis, Outpost of Empire," by F. Clever Bald;

"Construction and Physical Appearance of Fort Miami," by Carl B. Spitzer.

*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Spring, 1944: "Yancey Lewis," by Robert L. Williams; "Oklahoma War Memorial—World War II," by Muriel H. Wright; "Recollections of the Osages in the 'Seventies," by Ralph H. Records.

*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, March, 1944: "Oregon Geographic Names: Sixth Supplement," by Lewis A. McArthur.

*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, January, 1944: "Peter John De Smet: The Journey of 1840," by W. L. Davis, S.J.—April: "Washington State Nominating Conventions," by Winston B. Thorson.

*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January, 1944: "Early Efforts to Abolish Capital Punishment in Pennsylvania," by Albert Post.—April: "French Experiments in Pioneering in Northern Pennsylvania," by Elsie Murray.

*Rhode Island History*, January, 1944: "The Banishment of Roger Williams," (Painting in oil on canvas by Peter F. Rothermel); "The Political Consequences of the Burning of the Gaspee," by Eugene Wulsin.—April: "The Political Consequences of the Burning of the Gaspee," by Eugene Wulsin.

*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, January, 1944: "Texas and the Confederate Army's Meat Problem," by Frank E. Vandiver; "The Excellence of the Spanish Horse," by John J. Johnson.—April: "Railroad Enterprise in Texas 1836-1841," by Andrew Forest Muir.

*Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, March, 1944: "Fugitive and Agrarian Writers at Vanderbilt," by Richmond Croom Beatty.

*Utah Historical Quarterly*, January, April, July, October, 1943: "Father Escalante's Journal 1776-1777 Newly Translated with Related Documents and Original Maps," by Herbert S. Auerbach.

*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, April, 1944: "The Greatest Fact in Modern History," by Matthew Page Andrews.

*West Virginia History*, January, 1944: "Notes on an Old West Virginia Coal Field," by Howard N. Eavenson.

*William and Mary Quarterly*, January, 1944: "Charles McLean Andrews: Historian, 1863-1943," by Leonard W. Labaree; "Beverley's History . . . of Virginia (1705), A Neglected Classic," by Louis B. Wright; "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," by Wesley Frank Craven.

*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, March, 1944: "The Typewriter in Wisconsin," by Frederic Heath; "The Development of Cranberry Growing in Wisconsin," by Neil E. Stevens and Jean Nash; "Old Milwaukee," by William George Bruce.

## WAR

COL. FRANK KNOX, OF MICHIGAN

(From the *Detroit Times*, April 28, 1944)

**A**LTHOUGH the late Navy Secretary Frank Knox was born in Boston, he properly can be called a Michigan product since the greater part of his life was spent here and since it was in Michigan that both his professional and political stars began to rise.

Christened William Franklin Knox, he was brought to Grand Rapids at the age of 7 and, the family finances being at a low ebb, started what was to become a brilliant newspaper career by selling the *Grand Rapids Herald* on the streets.

After graduating from high school, young Frank Knox went to Alma College with \$25 in his pocket and announced he was going to work his way through. When he obtained his degree, the Spanish-American war had begun and he enlisted in the Roosevelt Rough Riders.

Returning from the war, Knox went to work on the *Herald* as a cub reporter. On the same day another young man destined to shine in his country's public life began work as a cub on the same paper. He was Arthur Vandenburg.

Young Knox' progress was rapid. He became successively city editor, circulation manager and business manager and then, encouraged by his success with other people's papers, he decided to strike out for himself.

He bought the weekly paper at Sault Ste. Marie and renamed it the *Lake Superior Journal*. It was here that the political bee entered his bonnet and he teamed up with Chase S. Osborn, who was interested actively in the paper.

Together they "cleaned up" the Soo, battling with every weapon against the lawless elements in the then "frontier town." On at least one occasion the weapon was Knox' fist, when he personally beat up and threw out of his office a saloonkeeper who entered to horsewhip Knox for his political belief.

In 1910 Knox managed the successful campaign for the governorship of Osborn and became chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

Later the team broke up when Theodore Roosevelt broke from the Republican ranks (there are those who say Knox was responsible for this) and helped in the early days of the Bull Moose Party.

With the political break from Osborn, Knox also broke their business partnership, heading east to take over the ownership of the Manchester (N. H.) *Leader and Union*, financed by Gov. Robert P. Bass of that state, and a group of his friends.

But a second war interfered with his newspaper career and Knox went overseas as a captain, was promoted to major and then lieutenant colonel. He served on the western front with the 153rd Artillery. He took an active hand in the formation of the American Legion and then plunged back into his newspaper work.

So successful was he in his papers in Michigan and New England that he attracted the notice of William Randolph Hearst, who made him publisher of the *Boston American*, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and the *Boston Sunday Advertiser*.

Pleased with his work, Mr. Hearst made Knox general manager of the entire Hearst chain at salary of \$150,000 a year. He served in this capacity from 1927 until 1931, when he retired "to take a rest."

Soon after, he bought part ownership of the *Chicago Daily News* and became its president.

While he had been away from Michigan for years, Secretary Knox maintained close touch with the scenes of his boyhood and early triumphs.

His sister, Miss Elizabeth Knox, resides in Grand Rapids.

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(Editorial, *Detroit Free Press*, April 29, 1944)

FRANK KNOX died as he had lived: in the service of his Country.



Immediately after his graduation from Alma College, Michigan, he joined Theodore Roosevelt's famous "Rough Riders" and fought with them through the Spanish-American War.

When the First World War came along he responded once more to the call of duty and was accepted, though beyond the age limit. He fought in France with the 153rd Artillery Brigade.

When the Second World War loomed, though he had been one of President Roosevelt's most bitter critics and campaigned against him as vice-presidential candidate in 1936, he once more responded to the call of duty when the President asked him to become Secretary of the Navy. Thereby he set an example for all Americans in placing his Country above his political opinions.

Though born in Boston, Col. Knox was from his early youth a rugged son of Michigan. The Free Press has followed his career from his days as a reporter at Lansing, to his editorships and publisher's responsibilities in Michigan journalism and beyond that to his high place in the national field of newspaperdom.

Always he fought for that which was clean and constructive in journalism with a courage that was as fine as he showed on the field of battle. Death comes to him in the seventieth year of his age. A sturdy soldier in all that for which America stands has passed on to the awards of a well-spent life, giving unto the last his best.

\* \* \*

(From *The Detroit News*, April 29, 1944)

Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox was a casualty of this war as surely as if he had been struck down in battle. He was 70 on New Year's Day. For nearly four years, as the Navy Department head, and indeed for many years before, he had driven himself as if he were a man of half his age. If the flesh at last was weak it is hardly to be wondered at; at least there never was a spirit more willing.

Several sections claimed him for their own, for he was Boston-born but Michigan-bred, and educated at Alma College, of which he was a trustee. He was a newspaperman at Grand Rapids and Sault Ste. Marie, and the press of the State thought of him as one of its own. After interludes in Manchester and Boston, he with a partner purchased a controlling interest in the *Chicago Daily News*.

His boundless energy made its mark on every enterprise to which he put a hand. Its first manifestation was enlistment with the Rough Riders in '98, the dream of every restless and dynamic young blood of the time. The association with and loyalty to Theodore Roosevelt persisted through the rise and fall of the Bull Moose movement. Always politically minded, he returned to the regular party fold, and the nomination for Vice-President on the ill-fated Landon ticket in '36 was in natural sequence to his many contributions of labor and love that had gone before.

It would be wrong to say he either inspired or initiated the great Navy which has begun to turn the scales of war in the Pacific. The program came to him already formulated; but he carried it forward with zeal and the tremendous drive and enthusiasm which were characteristic of any Knox performance. The prodigal expense of energy had begun to make its mark upon him in recent months in the way of failing health. His passing was sudden, but to those near him scarcely a surprise.

He was a great American, bearing around him to the end that air of strenuousness which Theodore Roosevelt bequeathed to so many of his devotees. And he died, as all such Americans prefer to die, in harness and—almost literally—in battle.

## "I AM THE NURSE"

I am the nurse.

I walk with him

In his world of pain.

He is the warrior become a boy again,

Returned to us in the backwash of war.

By God given back to us, to make whole.

I am the nurse.

But I am so few and he . . . your wounded man . . . is legion!

Women, mothers of men, stand with me in the dark of night . . .  
and listen.

Do you hear the murmur of a million lips?

Do you hear . . . the call for help, rising in pitch

Above the death-belch of cannon . . .

Calling from the heavens, through the whine of crushed  
wings . . .

Bubbling through the ocean's swell . . . touching at every shore?

Yes, you hear it . . . the call of hurt.

You are a woman and hearing, you must heed.

When his teeth are clenched in pain . . . upon a woman's  
name . . .

Mine is the hand that soothes.

When his eyes are set upon a woman's face, cherished image  
plucked through space,

Mine are the words that calm.

I am the nurse,

Stricken in heart with the single fear

That against the growing need my numbers cannot prevail.

For I am so few and he . . . is legion who asks our aid.

Add your hands to mine, woman, mother of men, lest victory  
hang like a mocking mask

Upon our Nation's honor!

Lest I be too few.

—Fred Methot in *Winners of the West*.

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"The University in the War" is the title of a Report published by the University of Michigan summarizing the University's services to the armed forces and to the workers on the home front from December 7, 1941 to December 7, 1943.

The Report is compiled by Howard H. Peckham. This is the 41st General Bulletin, Bureau of Alumni Relations, Wilfred B. Shaw, Director.

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Fort Brady, at Sault Ste. Marie, presents *The Outpost*, published weekly from March 24, 1944, and is received on exchange by the Magazine. This new paper is intended "to reflect all views of the personnel of the Sault Ste. Marie Military Area," according to Colonel Basil D. Spalding, Commanding Officer of Ft. Brady, in his outline of policy for the new publication. Copies may be obtained from the Post Exchange. No. 4, for April 14, contained an excellent six-page feature story devoted to the 121 years of the history of Ft. Brady, founded in 1823. Managing editor of *The Outpost* is Corporal Donald N. Mann.

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#### WAR RECORDS COLLECTING

The Committee on State and Local War Records of the American Association for State and Local History reached number 3 with its May issue of *The War Records Collector*. This issue, titled "University War Records," by Howard H. Peckham "provides a specific example of the variety of college and university war records that can be collected and of the methods that may be used." Mr. Peckham of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, is University War Historian.

Of the two earlier numbers, No. 1 announces the purpose of *The War Records Collector*, "to serve as a clearing house of information among persons and organizations throughout the nation engaged in the collection and preservation of World War II materials." It lists the war records projects and activities in the several states and territories.

No. 2 is titled, "Records of the Federal War Effort in the States".

**MICHIGAN'S GOLD STAR RECORD: WORLD WAR I**

(For the beginning of this Series, see the Winter issue of this Magazine for 1943)

**JOHN H. BORESON** (2054102), Corporal, Company H, 339th Infantry, 85th Division. Son of Bore Halvorsen and Mary Halvorsen, Harstad, Norway. (Note name of son formed from Father's given name.) Born Oct. 28, 1899 in Norway. Entered U. S. Military service in Camp Custer May 27, 1917. Assigned to Company H, 339th Infantry in the organization of the 85th Division at Camp Custer. Trained with his unit and was transported overseas. Upon arrival in England the 339th Infantry was detached from the remainder of the Division and became part of the Allied Expeditionary Force to North Russia under English Command. Corporal Boreson accompanied this expedition in which he was killed in action Oct. 1, 1918 near Archangel, Russia. Residence at enlistment: Stevenson, Menominee County.

**OMER BORLE** (279508), Sergeant, Company D, 126th Infantry. Son of Theophile Borle, Mt. Pleasant, and Addeline Borle (deceased). Born September 26, 1891 at Thourout, West Flanders, Belgium. Farmer. Inducted into Camp Custer September 20, 1917. Transferred to Company D, 126th Infantry then in training at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the 32nd Division, with which unit he engaged in the Alsace Sector, the Aisne-Marne and Oise-Aisne Offensives. Killed in action October 5, 1918 in the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne. Residence at enlistment: Mt. Pleasant, Isabella County.

**JACOB H. BORSEKOWSKI** (1058560), Chauffeur, 13th Aero Squadron. Son of Gustave (deceased) and Dora (Hartman) Borsekowski, Detroit. Born June 22, 1892 at Detroit. Motor mechanic. Enlisted in U. S. service at Kelly Field, Texas, March 7th, 1918. Assigned to service as a Chauffeur, 13th Aero Squadron. Overseas June 9, 1918. Served for five months on the west front as a Chauffeur in the 13th Aero Squadron. Died February 22, 1919 at Brest, France. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

**JOHN F. BORSKI** (574026), Private 1st Class, Company C, 39th Infantry, 4th Division. Son of Martin and Victoria Borski, Ludington. Born November 17, 1895 at Ludington. Machinist. Inducted into Camp Greene, N. C. March 25, 1918. Assigned to Company C, 39th Infantry. Overseas May, 1918. Served with the 4th Division until the opening day of the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, when he was killed in action September 26, 1918 on Mount Focken Hill. Residence at enlistment: Ludington, Mason County.

**JAMES RAY BORST** (280733), Private 1st Class, Company I, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of James H. and Sarah E. (Vandawater) Borst, Big Rapids. Born March 6, 1899 at Big Rapids. Employee Ward's Flooring Mill, Big Rapids. Enlisted in Company H, 32nd Infantry, Michigan National Guard, April 26, 1917. Entered Camp Ferris, Grayling, August 15, 1917. Transferred to Company I, 126th Infantry in the reorganization of the National Guard at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the 32nd Division. Served with the Red Arrow Division until October 9, 1918, when he was killed in action in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive on the day the Division reached the Kriemhilde Stellung and Cote Dame Marie of the Hindenberg Line. Residence at enlistment: Big Rapids, Mecosta County.

**JOHN J. BOSEL** (2050508), Corporal, Company C, 339th Infantry, 85th Division. Son of John Bosel, Detroit, and Anna (Ripplinger) Bosel (deceased). Born July 13, 1886 at Detroit. Salesman. Inducted into Camp Custer April 28, 1918. Assigned to Company C, 339th Infantry. Overseas with the 85th Division. Upon arrival in England the 339th Infantry was detached from the Division and sent to Russia as part of the Allied Force under the command of the British operating with Archangel as a base. Corporal Bosel was killed in action November 29, 1918 in Russia. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

**RAY E. BOSTICK**, 2nd Lieutenant, Company C, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Charles H. and Emma L. Bostick, Manton. Born Mar. 27, 1890 at Manton. Single. Entered U.S. military service May 15, 1917 as a member of the Michigan National Guard. Transferred to Camp McArthur, Texas where he was assigned to Company C, 126th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division of the new National Army. Trained at Camp McArthur and was sent overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Served with his unit in the Alsace Sector and in the Aisne-Marne Offensive where he was killed in action in the drive upon Fismes between the Ourcq and Vesle Rivers. Residence at enlistment: Cadillac, Wexford County.

**EDWARD G. BOURDO** (2018004), Private, Medical Department, Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Son of George W. and Clara Bourdo, Northport. Born Apr. 29, 1890 at Northport. Inducted into Camp Custer Nov. 20, 1917. Assigned to the Medical Department, Base Hospital. Served with his unit until his death from disease Oct. 14, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Residence at enlistment: Northport, Leelanau County.

**BENNETT BOURSAB**, Private, 2nd Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Son of Peter Boursaw, Omena (mother deceased). Born Oct. 29,

1890 at Acme. Single. Entered service at Camp Custer July 27, 1918. Assigned to 2nd Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Continued in service until his death from disease Oct. 9, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Residence at enlistment: Omena, Leelanau County.

GARRET H. BOURSAB (2305594), Corporal, Company D, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of George V. and Christiana (St. Andre) Boursaw (both deceased). Born at Groscap. Fisherman. Enlisted in U.S. service July 9, 1917. Entered Camp Ferris, Grayling, August 16, 1917. Assigned to Company D, 126th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Arrived in France March 4, 1918. Served with the Red Arrow Division in the Haute-Alsace Sector, the Aisne-Marne and Oise-Aisne offensives. Killed in action October 6, 1918 in the Meuse-Argonne offensive as the 32nd Division was blasting its way to the Kriemhilde Stellung. Residence at enlistment: Groscap, Mackinac County.

ISAAC V. BOURSAB, Corporal, Company D, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of George and Christina (St. Andre) Boursaw (both deceased). Born at Groscap. Fisherman. Enlisted in the Michigan National Guard, April, 1915. Served on the Mexican Border 1916-1917. Assigned to Company D, 126th Infantry in the reorganization of the National Guard at Waco, Texas. Overseas with the 32nd Division. Served in the Haute-Alsace front with the Red Arrow Division, during which period of service he was wounded June 19, resulting in his death June 23, 1918. Residence at enlistment: St. Ignace, Mackinac County.

MICHAEL A. BOVIE, Sergeant, Company B, 2nd Machine Gun Battalion, 1st Division. Son of Frank and Cecil Bovie (both deceased). Born November 16, 1880 in Canada. Soldier in Regular Army. Entered service in the Regular Army April 24, 1914 from Cheboygan. Killed in action May 28, 1918 at Picardy, France. Residence at enlistment: Cheboygan, Cheboygan County.

PETER JOSEPH BOVIN (263866), Corporal, Company L, 125th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Mrs. A. Bovin, Menominee. Entered U.S. military service in the Michigan National Guard and was assigned to Company L, 125th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division of the new National Army at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Served in the Alsace Sector and Aisne Marne Offensive where he was killed in action July 31, 1918 in the difficult capture of Clerges during the drive upon Fismes between the Ourcq and Vesle Rivers. Residence at enlistment: Menominee, Menominee County.



CAMIEL BOVYN (280500), Private, Company H, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Entered U.S. military service and was assigned to Company H, 126th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Overseas with his unit. Served with the Red Arrow Division in France until his death in action Oct. 9, 1918 in the approach to the Kriemhilde Stellung of the Hindenberg Line during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Next of kin: Mrs. Phil Burse, Marshall, Minn. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

DAVID R. BOWDEN (25558), Sergeant, 1st Class, Stars & Stripes. Son of ——— (father deceased) Eliza Bowden-Wilson, Detroit. Born February 19, 1893 at Toronto, Ont. Clerk, Jackson & Church Company, Detroit. Entered U.S. service August 2, 1917. Became 1st Sergeant, 469th Aero Squadron. Overseas. Transferred to the staff of the "Stars and Stripes.", the official publication of the Army in France. Died of broncho-pneumonia December 21, 1918 at Paris, France. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

LAWRENCE GRANT BOWEN, 1st Lieutenant, 56th Squadron, Royal Air Force, Canadian Army. Son of Wm. F. and Eleanor Norrish Bowen, Toronto, Canada. Born February 1, 1898 at Traverse City. Student. Enlisted in the Canadian Service March 1917. Assigned to 56th Squadron, Royal Air Force. Killed in action September 28, 1918 at Cambrai, France. Residence at enlistment: Traverse City, Grand Traverse County.

MARVIN MILFORD BOWEN (273167), Private, Company D, 121st Machine Gun Battalion, 32nd Division. Entered U.S. military service and was assigned to Company D, 121st Machine Gun Battalion which was attached to the 64th Infantry Brigade. Trained and was transported overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Served with his unit until his death from disease, Sept. 18, 1918. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

ROSS ERWIN BOWERMAN (278985), Corporal, Company B, 126th Infantry. Son of Frank Bowerman (deceased) and Carrie I. Bowerman-Negus, Adrian. Born Jan. 2, 1893 in Raisin Township, Lenawee County. Enlisted in U.S. military service May 24, 1917. Entered Camp Ferris, Grayling, July 15, 1917 with the Michigan National Guard. Transferred to Company B, 126th Infantry when the 32nd Division was organized at Camp McArthur, Texas. Embarked for overseas February 16, 1918 at New York City. Served with the 32nd Division throughout the Aisne-Marne and Oise-Aisne Offensives. Died Oct. 6, 1918 of wounds received in action the previous day while engaged in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Residence at enlistment: Adrian, Lenawee County.

**GEORGE MARCUS BOWLBY**, Private, 78th Company, 6th U. S. Marines, 2nd Division. Son of Elmer and Carrie Lee Bowlby, Ovid. Born November 18, 1898 at Middlebury Township, Shiawassee County. Farmer, and for six months an inspector of shrapnel shells, Standard Parts Company, Cleveland, Ohio. Enlisted in the U. S. Marines January 1, 1918. Transferred to Paris Island, S. C. where he was assigned to the 78th Company, 6th U. S. Marines. Arrived in France June 9, 1918. Served for three weeks with the 2nd Division in the 40 days of continuous fighting between the Aisne and Marne Rivers from June 1-July 9, 1918 generally known as the Aisne-Marne Defensive and accepted as the turning point of the war. Also served in the Aisne-Marne Offensive, the Marbache Sector and the St. Mihiel Offensive. Killed in action October 5, 1918 in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive when the 2nd Division made its brilliant advance against intensive resistance and captured Medeah Farm, Blanc Mont ridge and the ground leading up to the St. Etienne-Orfeuill Road. Residence at enlistment: Ovid, Clinton County.

**CARL L. BOWMAN** (451198), Private, Company L, 39th Infantry, 4th Division. Son of Alfred and Louise (Hagerman) Bowman, Menominee. Born April 20, 1895 at Menominee. Brakeman and bottler. Inducted into Columbus Barracks, Ohio, May 10, 1918. Overseas August 15, 1918. Assigned to Company L, 39th Infantry as a replacement. Killed in action in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive October 11, 1918 after two weeks of continuous fighting against the strongest resistance of the enemy in the heavily wooded sector of Briulles, Fays and Malau-mont. Residence at enlistment: Menominee, Menominee County.

**LOUIS A. BOWMAN** (42679), Private, 1st Class, Company E, 16th Infantry, 1st Division. Son of Benjamin and Della Bowman, Crystal Falls. Born August 29, 1893 at Iron River. Cigar maker. Entered Jefferson Barracks, May 17, 1917. Assigned to Company E, 16th Infantry. Overseas with the 1st Division. Served in the Sommerviller Sector, the Ansaerville Sector, the Cantigny Sector, the Montdidier-Noyon Defensive, the Cantigny Sector, the Aisne-Marne Offensive, the Saizerais Sector, the St. Mihiel Offensive and in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, in which he received wounds from which he died September 30, 1918, at Base Hospital No. 18, France. Residence at enlistment: Crystal Falls, Iron County.

**WILLIAM H. BOWMAN** (2020842), Sergeant, Company B, 339th Infantry, 85th Division. Son of John R. and Ossie Bowman, Penn Laird, Va. Born Mar. 10, 1896. Married Nov. 19, 1917, at Harrisonburg, Va. to Mary Frances Yancey who was born July 1, 1893 at Keezletown, Va. Entered U. S. military service at Camp Custer Sept. 5, 1917. Assigned

to Company B, 339th Infantry in the organization of the 85th Division at Camp Custer. Trained at Camp Custer and was transferred overseas with his unit. Upon arrival in England the 339th Infantry was detached from the remainder of the Division and sent with the "Polar Bears" to North Russia as part of the Allied Expeditionary Force in that region. While fighting the Bolshevici Sergeant Bowman received wounds from which he died Mar. 1, 1919 near Archangel. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

RUSSELL C. BOXELL (16922), Private, Ambulance Company H, Medical Corps. Son of Joseph and Ruth Boxell, Manistee. Born February 1, 1896 at Warren, Ind. Farmer. Inducted into Fort Oglethorpe, Ga. March 8, 1918. Assigned to Ambulance Company H, Medical Corps. Died of disease May 14, 1918 at Camp Oglethorpe, Ga. Buried at Long Lake Cemetery, Ludington. Residence at enlistment: Ludington, Mason County.

GLENWOOD BOYCE, Private, 1st Company, Coast Artillery Corps, Fort McKinley. Son of Otho and Lillie Boyce, Jonesville. Born November 7, 1899 at Jonesville. Student, Jonesville High School. Entered U. S. service at Fort McKinley, Maine, April 27, 1917. Assigned to 1st Company, Coast Artillery Corps. Died of spinal-meningitis at Fort McKinley, Me. May 29, 1917. Buried at Jonesville. Residence at enlistment: Jonesville, Hillsdale County.

JOHN WALTER BOYCE (22683), Private, 91st Company, 22nd Recruit Battalion, Syracuse Recruit Camp. Son of George and Mary Boyce, Munith. Born April 15, 1895 in Lyndon Township, Washtenaw County. Teacher. Married November 24, 1917 at Ypsilanti, to Gladys Mae Bunton who was born March 23, 1899 at Willis. Survived by a son, John Arnold, Born July 1, 1918. Entered U. S. service September 7, 1918. Assigned to 91st Company, 22nd Recruit Battalion, Recruit Camp, Syracuse, N. Y. Died October 9, 1918 at Syracuse. Buried at Mount Hope Cemetery, Waterloo. Residence at enlistment: Lyndon Township, Washtenaw County.

ARTHUR WILLIAM BOYD (2044787), Private, Company C, 150th Machine Gun Battalion, 42nd Division. Son of Thomas N. Boyd, Aurora, Ill. and Charlotte R. Boyd (deceased). Born October 8, 1888 at Plasso, Ill. Tool maker. Inducted into Camp Custer April 27, 1918. Assigned to 330th Machine Gun Battalion, 85th Division. Overseas August, 1918. Transferred as a replacement to Company C, 150th Machine Gun Battalion of the Rainbow Division. Killed in action September 12, 1918 during the morning of his first day of fighting in the Battle of St. Mihiel. Residence at enlistment: Chelsea, Washtenaw County.

FRANK W. BOYD (4037900), Private, Company E, 78th Infantry, 14th Division. Son of William E. and Mary E. (McCoy) Boyd (both deceased). Born September 11, 1893 at Hubbard, Ohio. Laborer. Inducted into Camp Custer July 25, 1918. Assigned to Company E, 78th Infantry, 14th Division, then in process of organization. Died of disease October 5, 1918 at Camp Custer. Buried at South Boston Cemetery, Saranac. Residence at enlistment: Saranac, Ionia County.

VAN E. BOYD (9237), Private, Section 591, U. S. Ambulance Service. Son of William E. and Sarah E. Boyd of Charlotte. Born March 11, 1896 at Vermontville. Line-keeper Olds Motor Car Company, Lansing. Entered U. S. service June 23, 1917. Assigned to Section 49, U. S. Ambulance Service. Stationed at Allen Town, Pa. Transferred to Section No. 101, and later to Section No. 591. Overseas. Died October 5, 1918 from wounds received in action. Residence at enlistment: Lansing, Ingham County.

MERLE WASHINGTON BOYER (4537081), Private, 1st Company, Student Army Training Corps, University of Michigan. Son of J. W. and Martha (Hedwig) Boyer, Monroe. Born February 22, 1898 at Lindsay, Ohio. Carpenter and salesman. Inducted into the Students' Army Training Corps, University of Michigan, October 16, 1918. Died of influenza October 28, 1918 at Ann Arbor. Buried at Lindsay. Residence at enlistment: Monroe, Monroe County.

JOHN PATTEN BOYLE, 2nd Lieutenant, Aviation. Son of John and Susan Boyle, Escanaba. Born April 12, 1894. Trained and commissioned at Kelley Field, Texas. Killed June 26, 1918 in an aeroplane accident at Selfridge Field, Mt. Clemens. Residence at enlistment: Escanaba, Delta County.

ELMER A. BRABON, Private, Supply Company, U. S. Marines. Son of William and Mina (Highfield) Brabon, Flint. Born August 27, 1899 at Holly. Mechanic. Entered U. S. Marine Service at Paris Island, S. C. May 17, 1918. Assigned to a Supply Company, U. S. Marines. Died of pneumonia November 12, 1918 at Paris Island, S. C. Residence at enlistment: Flint, Genesee County.

EMORY W. BRADY (2313970), Private, Company H, 125th Infantry, 22nd Division. Entered U. S. military service in the Michigan National Guard and was assigned to Company H, 125th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Trained and was transported overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Served with his unit in the Alsace Sector, and Aisne-Marne Offensive where he was killed in action July 31, 1918 in the capture of Cierges during the drive

upon Fismes between the Ourcq and Vesle Rivers. Residence at enlistment: Unionville, Tuscola County.

LOREN JOSEPH BRADY (17109), Private, Medical Detachment, 3rd Battalion, 125th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of William H. and Lovina Brady, Unionville. Born May 4, 1897 at Unionville. Pharmacist in Lowthian Drug Store, Unionville. Enlisted in Company F, 33rd Infantry, Michigan National Guard, June 28, 1917. Entered Fort Wayne, Detroit, July, 1917. Transferred to Camp Custer and later to Camp McArthur, Texas, where he was assigned to 125th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division. Overseas February 7, 1918. Served with the Red Arrow Division during its remarkable career in France, until August 6, 1918 when he was killed in a dug-out during the Aisne-Marne Offensive, by an enemy bombing raid, as he was making preparations to care for the wounded from the battle front. Residence at enlistment: Unionville, Tuscola County.

THOMAS EARL BRADLEY, 2nd Lieutenant, 808 Depot Aero Squadron, Washington, D. C. Aviation Section, Non-flying. Son of Ashbel James Bradley, Detroit, and Rebecca Bradley (deceased). Born August 7, 1887 at Midland. Employee of First and Old Detroit National Bank, Detroit. Married June 27, 1917 at Detroit to Ella May Abbott who was born November 27, 1887 at Milwaukee, Wis. Entered military service March 15, 1918. Assigned to 808th Aero Squadron, Washington, D. C. Commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant. Died October 8, 1918, at Washington, D. C. Buried at Woodmere Cemetery, Detroit. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

VICTOR J. BRAGG, Seaman, U. S. Navy, Reserve Force. Son of Ollie J. and Ella S. Bragg, Adrian. Born May 19, 1899 at Adrian. Farmer. Enlisted in U. S. Navy July 13, 1918 and was assigned to the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Ill. Assigned to 391st Company, 8th Regiment. Transferred to Camp Dewey, Company E, 1st Regiment, July 25, 1918. Died October 13, 1918 in Base Hospital, Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Ill. Buried at Adrian. Residence at enlistment: Adrian, Lenawee County.

CLIFFORD JAMES BRANCH (280019), Private, First Class, Company I, 128th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of Edwin W. Branch (deceased) and Julia A. Branch-Sleighly, Tekonsha. Born September 8, 1886 at Thomastown. Farmer. Enlisted in U. S. service June 5, 1917. Entered Camp Ferris, Grayling, July 16, 1917. Transferred to Camp McArthur, Texas, and trained with the 32nd Division. Assigned to Company I, 128th Infantry. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division. Died September 4, 1918 at Base Hospital No. 41, St. Denis, France.

from wounds received in action. Residence at enlistment: Tekonsha, Calhoun County.

ALFRED BRANCHINI (263873), Private, Company L, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Entered U. S. military service in the Michigan National Guard and was assigned to Company L, 125th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Trained at Camp McArthur and was sent overseas with his unit. Served in the Alsace Sector and in the Aisne-Marne Offensive where he was killed in action July 31, 1918 in the capture of Cierges during the drive upon Fismes between the Ourcq and Vesle Rivers. Next of kin: Wilma Branchini, Iron River, Iron County. Accredited by the War Department to Michigan.

EWALD H. BRANDAU (2021430), Private, Company C, 47th Infantry, 4th Division. Son of Andrew and Matilda Brandau (both deceased). Born August 8, 1894 at Detroit. Pool Room Operator. Inducted into Camp Custer, November 21, 1917. Assigned to the 339th Infantry. Trained with the 85th Division. Transferred to Company C, 47th Infantry. Overseas. Died September 8, 1918 in France from wounds received in action. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

GEORGE A. BRANDOW (2054412), Private, Company B, 4th Infantry, 3rd Division. Son of John O. and Hannah Brandow, Harbor Beach. Born at Harbor Beach December 21, 1893. Farmer. Inducted into Camp Custer May 28, 1918. Assigned to Company E, 340th Infantry, 85th Division. Trained and transported overseas with the 85th Division. Transferred to Company B, 4th Infantry. Served with the 3rd Division until he was wounded in the chest by shrapnel which caused his death October 26, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Harbor Beach, Huron County.

RAY C. BRANDOW, Private, 1st Class, Company B, 28th Infantry, 1st Division. Son of James Brandow, Altona, and Mary M. (Buchner) Brandow (deceased). Born August 12, 1888 in Deerfield Township, Mecosta County. Carpenter. Married 1907 at Deerfield to Lydia Inize Helms who was born at Deerfield. Survived by two children: Bertha, born January 20, 1911 and Marshall, born January 17, 1913. Enlisted in the Regular Army at Grand Rapids and was assigned to Company B, 28th Infantry, with which unit he served until May 28, 1918 when he was killed in action in the brilliant capture of Cantigny. Residence at enlistment: Morley, Mecosta County.

HERMAN ALBERT BRANDT (281181), Private, 1st Class, Company L, 126th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of H. (deceased) and



Bertha Brandt, White Cloud. Born April 19, 1888 at White Cloud. Machinist. Enlisted in U. S. service July 9, 1917. Transferred to Camp McArthur, Texas, and was assigned to Company L, 126th Infantry. Overseas with the Red Arrow Division with which unit he served until he was killed in action October 6, 1918 in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Residence at enlistment: White Cloud, Newaygo County.

WILLIAM G. BRAUER (2036895), Private, Company C, 2nd Engineers, 2nd Division. Son of Gustave and Annie Brauer, Detroit. Born September 16, 1895 in Germany. Inducted into Camp Custer, March 30, 1918. Transferred to Camp Humphreys, Va., and was sent overseas June, 1918. Assigned to Company C, 2nd Engineers. Served with this unit in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive when the 2nd Division with remarkable celerity and equally great loss of life entered the line northwest of Somme-Py and took Medeah Farm, Blank Mont ridge and the ground leading up to the St. Etienne-Orfeuil Road. In this brilliant advance Private Brauer was killed October 8, 1918. Resident at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

EDWARD J. BRAY, Sergeant, Central Infantry Officers' Training School, Camp McArthur, Texas. Son of Edward P. and Mary A. (Kennelly) Bray, Saginaw. Born May 30, 1893 at Saginaw. Salesman, Union Motor Truck Company. Inducted into service from Bay City, July 13, 1918. Transferred to Central Infantry Officers' Training School, Company G, 2nd Battalion, Camp McArthur, Texas. Died of pneumonia October 24, 1918 at Camp Hospital, Camp McArthur, Texas. Buried at Saginaw. Residence at enlistment: Bay City, Bay County.

GUY HULBERT BRAY, Private, 160th Depot Brigade. Son of Clarence H. and Lizzie Bray, Oshtemo. Born March 12, 1897 at Temple, N. H. Employee of Kalamazoo Shoe Manufacturing Company, Kalamazoo. Inducted into Camp Custer, September 4, 1918. Assigned to the 160th Depot Brigade. Died of pneumonia October 8, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Buried at Oshtemo. Residence at enlistment: Oshtemo, Kalamazoo County.

GEORGE H. BRENINGSTHULL (279776), Private, 1st Class, Company M, 128th Infantry, 32nd Division. Son of George H. and Lavina Breningsthull, Jackson. Born September 20, 1891 at Jefferson, Hillsdale County. Teamster. Married January 18, 1913 at Jackson to Ethel M. Nichols. Enlisted in the U. S. service May 29, 1917. Entered Camp Ferris at Grayling July 16, 1917. Transferred to Company M, 128th Infantry in the organization of the 32nd Division at Camp McArthur, Texas. Served with the Red Arrow division throughout its entire career in France. After the long and trying experience of the three



weeks heavy fighting in the Argonne the 128th Infantry reentered the line November 6, as a unit of the 5th Division operating east of the Meuse, in the vicinity of Dun-sur-Meuse. In the fighting which ensued just at the close of hostilities, Private Brenningsthull was killed November 8, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Jackson, Jackson County.

JOSEPH M. BRENNAN (2043949), Private, Battery E, 330th Field Artillery, 85th Division. Son of Michael P. and Catherine Brennan, Detroit. Born May 3, 1888 at Wingham, Ontario, Canada. Single. Entered U. S. military service April 26, 1918 in Camp Custer where he was assigned to Battery E, 330th Field Artillery in the organization of the 85th Division. Trained and was sent overseas with his unit. Served throughout the war. Died of cerebro-spinal-meningitis February 11, 1919 at the American Red Cross Hospital, Rimaucourt, France. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

WILLIAM A. BRENNER (2048827), Private, Company F, 18th Infantry, 1st Division. Son of Andrew Brenner, Harrisville, and Philomena Brenner (deceased) Born May 8, 1893 at Harrisville. Laborer. Inducted into Camp Custer April 30, 1918. Assigned to 21st Company, 6th Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Transferred to Company D, 337th Infantry, 85th Division. Overseas July 20, 1918. Transferred as a replacement to Company F, 18th Infantry. Engaged in the St. Mihiel Offensive. Died October 4, 1918, from wounds received in action in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Residence at enlistment: Harrisville, Alcona County.

CLINTON BRESSETT (573305), Corporal, Company M, 39th Infantry, 4th Division. Son of Oliver (deceased) and Hattie Bresett, Highland Park. Born September 8, 1893 at Ossineke. Automobile mechanic. Married November 18, 1916 at Detroit to Mary Gillett who was born July 4, 1897 in Toronto, Canada. Survived by a son, Oliver Bresett, Jr., born September 28, 1917. Inducted into U. S. army March 8, 1918. Assigned to Camp Greene, N. C., April 12, 1918. Overseas. Assigned to Company M, 39th Infantry. Served with the 4th Division of Regulars during the summer and early fall of 1918. Died September 28, 1918 from wounds received in action near Mt. Fancon, France, in the great American Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Residence at enlistment: Detroit, Wayne County.

PETER BREUER, Private, U. S. Army. Son of Jacob Breuer, Mt. Pleasant, and Johanna (Kermers) Breuer (deceased). Born May 21, 1893 in Ionia County. Farmer. Inducted into Camp Custer, August 28, 1918. Transferred to Gettysburg, Pa., where he died of influenza

October 6, 1918. Burial at Beal City. Residence at enlistment: Mt. Pleasant, Isabella County.

**GORDON D. BREWSTER**, Private, 8th Company, 160th Depot Brigade. Son of Delbert W. and Minnie E. Brewster, Grand Rapids. Born August 6, 1896 at Grand Rapids. Inducted into Camp Custer Sept. 3, 1918. Died of pneumonia following an attack of influenza October 7, 1918 at Base Hospital, Camp Custer. Residence at enlistment: Grand Rapids, Kent County.

**OTIS C. BREWSTER**, Private, Casual Company No. 1, Tank Corps. Son of Stephen D. and Carrie D. (Knowles) Brewster, Morley. Born October 7, 1893 in Oakland County. Farmer. Inducted into Camp Custer August 27, 1918. Transferred to Camp Colt, Gettysburg, Pa., and was assigned to Casual Company No. 1, Tank Corps. Died of disease Oct. 13, 1918 at Gettysburg. Buried at Orion. Residence at enlistment: Morley, Mecosta County.

**JOSEPH BRICKNER**, Private, Machine Gun Company, 78th Infantry, 14th Division. Son of John and Anna (Bergman) Brickner, Menominee. Born December 21, 1888 at Menominee. Employee in saw mill. Inducted into Camp Custer June 15, 1918. Assigned to the Machine Gun Company of the 78th Infantry. Died of disease in Base Hospital, Camp Custer, October 7, 1918. Buried at Riverside Cemetery, Menominee. Residence at enlistment: Menominee, Menominee County.

**WALLACE G. BRIDGFORD**, Sergeant, 9th Company, 3rd Battalion, 160th Depot Brigade. Son of William Wallace and Anna Belle Bridgford (both deceased). Born June 2, 1892, Washington Township, Marion County, Ind. Manager of the Service Station of the Overland Company, Lansing. Married at Dansville, Mich., to Ila Asher. Survived by a daughter, Glen Leovan Bridgford, born April 4, 1915. Inducted into Camp Custer September, 1918. Assigned to 160th Depot Brigade. Died of pneumonia October 13, 1918 at Camp Custer. Buried in Bridgford Cemetery, Indianapolis, Ind. Residence at enlistment: Lansing, Ingham County.

## AMONG THE BOOKS

**B**ATAAN: THE JUDGMENT SEAT. By Allison Ind. MacMillan, N.Y., pp. 395. Price \$3.50.

Reviewed by

LAWRENCE H. CONRAD

Past President, Michigan Authors' Association

This book is a winner.

It was published on March 14th; and I am writing this review just before the month of March closes. Already the success of the book is assured. Critics have spoken and are speaking all over the United States. They are calling it "excellent", "a great book", "one of the finest books of the entire war", and even "magnificent". But the tone of their comment is not fully reflected in such flash words and phrases as these. The tone of their comment is sober, too. For any war book that tells the truth will be both sad and serious. And BATAAN: THE JUDGMENT SEAT is no exception. Because it deals with one of the gravest moments in our national history; and because it is an eye-witness record kept by an observer who was in a privileged position, this book is important. We "took a licking" in the Philippines; and the author makes no attempt to mislead the reader on that score.

Yet here is a book that is full of men who had great hearts and steady nerves: not one, not a dozen, but scores of them. They were lost, and they must have known it. They were abandoned; and the fact became apparent to them while the weeks slid by. If ever a band of men demonstrated that they could "take it", it was the Men of Bataan. Their spirit, like that of Thermopylae, is already classic in our history. And Colonel Ind, celebrating all of them, brings his tribute fittingly to a head by making much of his story turn about the career of the great Air Force General, Harold H. George, a brilliant officer and a tireless worker who, after the Bataan days were over, was to die at Colonel Ind's side in a tragic accident in Australia. The author's tribute to this fine figure of a man is the unifying element in a book that reaches from high humor to tragic despair.

But Bataan is "the judgment seat" where all America is tried for short-sightedness and fumbling and bad faith. The author is not easy upon others nor upon himself. One of his sentences: "We were simply years and years too late", has already become the historic word by which our policy in the Pacific will be remembered. So strong is the author's indictment both of policy and of administration, that if it were not true, its publication surely would not have been permitted. There is nothing small or local or temporary about this book. It is one of the

best pieces of writing to come out of this war; and through it the author establishes himself as a reporter of the first magnitude.

Allison Ind is a Michigan man. He is a graduate of Ann Arbor High School and of the University of Michigan. He has been a newspaper reporter in this state; a magazine editor; and a promoter of documentary motion picture films. He was widely known as a short story writer in the 1930's. And as a lieutenant in the Air Force, he was Intelligence Officer at Selfridge Field from December, 1940 to April, 1941, when he was assigned to the Philippines, serving in the same capacity for the Far Eastern Air Force, then based at Manila. He is still in the Southwest Pacific, having taken no time off whatsoever for the purpose of writing this book. He is still an Intelligence Officer, and is attached to MacArthur's Headquarters Staff. His wife and family continue to live in Ann Arbor.

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**TROUBLE SHOOTER: THE STORY OF A NORTHWOODS PROSECUTOR.** By Robert Travor. The Viking Press, N.Y., 1943, pp. 294. Price \$2.75.

The author of this volume in real life is Mr. John Voelker, a former student at Northern Michigan College and for some years prosecuting attorney of Marquette County.

"This is not the sort of work you can review critically from the historical viewpoint," writes Prof. L. A. Chase of Marquette, "since it is in form fictional, or semi-fictional, and in reality a series of sketches."

The following by Clarence B. Randall of Chicago is quoted from the American Bar Association *Journal* for June, 1943:

"This is a vivid book. People are thumbing it casually at book counters, and then buying it because they can't put it down. But for me it was more than that. The characters walked and talked and smelled of the woods of Lake Superior, and I was with them.

"The locale is the most thrilling part of the world for me, and I know it so intimately that the thinly disguised names and slightly changed incidents merely whetted my memory. I had known the author in young manhood before he had become a celebrity; I had known his father, who was somewhat less glamorous in real life than in the story; I had known his mother, an intelligent and sweet woman whose gifts were not enhanced by her marriage; I had admired the gay and confident spirit in which the son of that marriage had secured his education in spite of his father; and then I had seen that son walk out of a large Chicago law office and return to the North in response to his heritage from that same father.

"There is some fine writing in this first book from a vigorous pen. The courtroom scene, where the convict charged with murder handles

his own defense, and wins a spectacular acquittal, would be almost too neat if it were imaginative. But it happened that way. Judge Belden is almost too fine a character to be a country judge. But I can take you up there and let you see his fine gray beard and twinkling eyes, and you will never forget him. And the Finns, and the Italians, and the other members of that post-frontier community are in life exactly like those deft characterizations.

"Could I delete what I wished, I would strike out the gutter vocabulary, and the cynicism. Neither is like the author. He isn't that sort of fellow, and I hope that in the future his publishers won't try to sell his books on that basis. He is too fine for that."

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THE SHINING TRAIL. By Iola Fuller. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, N.Y., 1943, pp. 442. Price \$3.00.

The author's first novel, *Loon Feather*, a semi-historical tale centered at Mackinac Island in the days of the fur trade and John Jacob Astor, was noted in the Spring issue of the Magazine for 1940. The present novel is an absorbing story of life in a Sauk village and on the war path leading up to and following through the Black Hawk War. The scene is the country around the Rock River in Illinois about a century ago.

As in the former novel, *The Shining Trail* is based mainly on historical fact. The historic betrayal of the Sauk Indians constitutes one of those chapters in American history of which we can not be proud. The quiet tone in which the author has told the story is creditable.

After reviewing the essential history of this episode, Edith H. Walton writing in the New York Times Book Review Section says,

"Obviously, then *The Shining Trail* is a kind of folk epic, and its roots are primarily historical. Nevertheless, there is a warmth and intimacy to the story, a mellowness and humor, which derives from the skill with which Miss Fuller portrays her Indian characters and from the fullbodied life which she gives to them. Black Hawk, of course, is the real hero of the book; but a subsidiary hero is his adopted son, Chaske, born a young Sioux, who carries most of the romantic burden of a very stirring tale and who justifies shiningly the training he receives. Chaske is an actual person, complex and believable. So are Wenona, his Sioux mother, and his lame stepfather, Tonah, who relinquishes him proudly to the tutelage of Black Hawk, knowing what an honor is his. In other words, there are no stereotypes in the book. These are no wooden Indians. All of them are quick with a rich individualism.

"In the end, however, what impresses one most in this novel as it did in *The Loon Feather*, is the sensitiveness and delicacy with which Miss

Fuller writes, the feeling which she gives one of really knowing the Indian heart and mind, and of interpreting them poignantly but unsentimentally. As one reads *The Shining Trail* one understands what their traditions and rituals meant to these Sauks; how keen and swift and cutting was their sly sense of humor; how difficult it was for them to believe in the infamy of the whites. There are times, I think, when Miss Fuller idealizes her very noble red men; there are times when her sympathy for their wrongs breaks bounds a little bit; yet her book, on the whole, has a quiet force and dignity and an air of authenticity which it would be difficult to dispute. As one who has almost a phobia against books about Indians, I found *The Shining Trail* moving and liked it a lot."

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**THE UNFORTIFIED BOUNDARY: A DIARY OF THE FIRST SURVEY OF THE CANADIAN BOUNDARY LINE FROM ST. REGIS TO THE LAKE OF THE WOODS.** By Maj. Joseph Delafield. Edited, with an introduction, by Robert McElroy and Thomas Riggs. Published by Gen. John R. Delafield, 20 Exchange Place, N.Y., 1943, pp. 490. Price \$7.50.

The story of the making of the "stupendous demarcation" which is the boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada has been graphically told in Osborn and Osborn's volume *The Conquest of a Continent* (1939) already noticed in the Magazine; a notable achievement which has given Americans and Canadians 3000 miles of undefended boundary and a century of peace.

Major Joseph Delafield whose recently discovered diary is here published for the first time, was the man who, as agent of the United States under articles VI and VII of the Treaty of Ghent, by his personal direction determined almost half of this boundary. The Introduction, outlining the history of Canadian boundary disputes, is contributed by able authorities, one a former teacher at Oxford and Princeton, the other a former Governor of Alaska. While the volume obviously is intended for specialists, the general reader will find considerable of interest in the fresh glimpses of pioneer conditions along the hundreds of miles of unsettled wilderness through which the survey was laboriously conducted.—G. N. F.

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**THE HEART RETURNETH.** By Vera Lebedeff. Lippincott, N.Y., 1943, pp. 319. Price \$2.50. A story of conflict of ideas and ideals in a colony of Russian refugees in Detroit preceding and during World War II.